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KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS OF THE VENERABLE TONGUE OF ENGLAND IN MALTA

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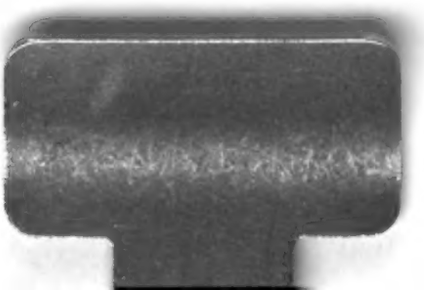

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KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS

OF

THE VEN. TONGUE OF ENGLAND IN MALTA

BY

CANON MGR. A. MIFSUD

D.D., Ph.D., LL.B., Kt.J.J. (Rome)

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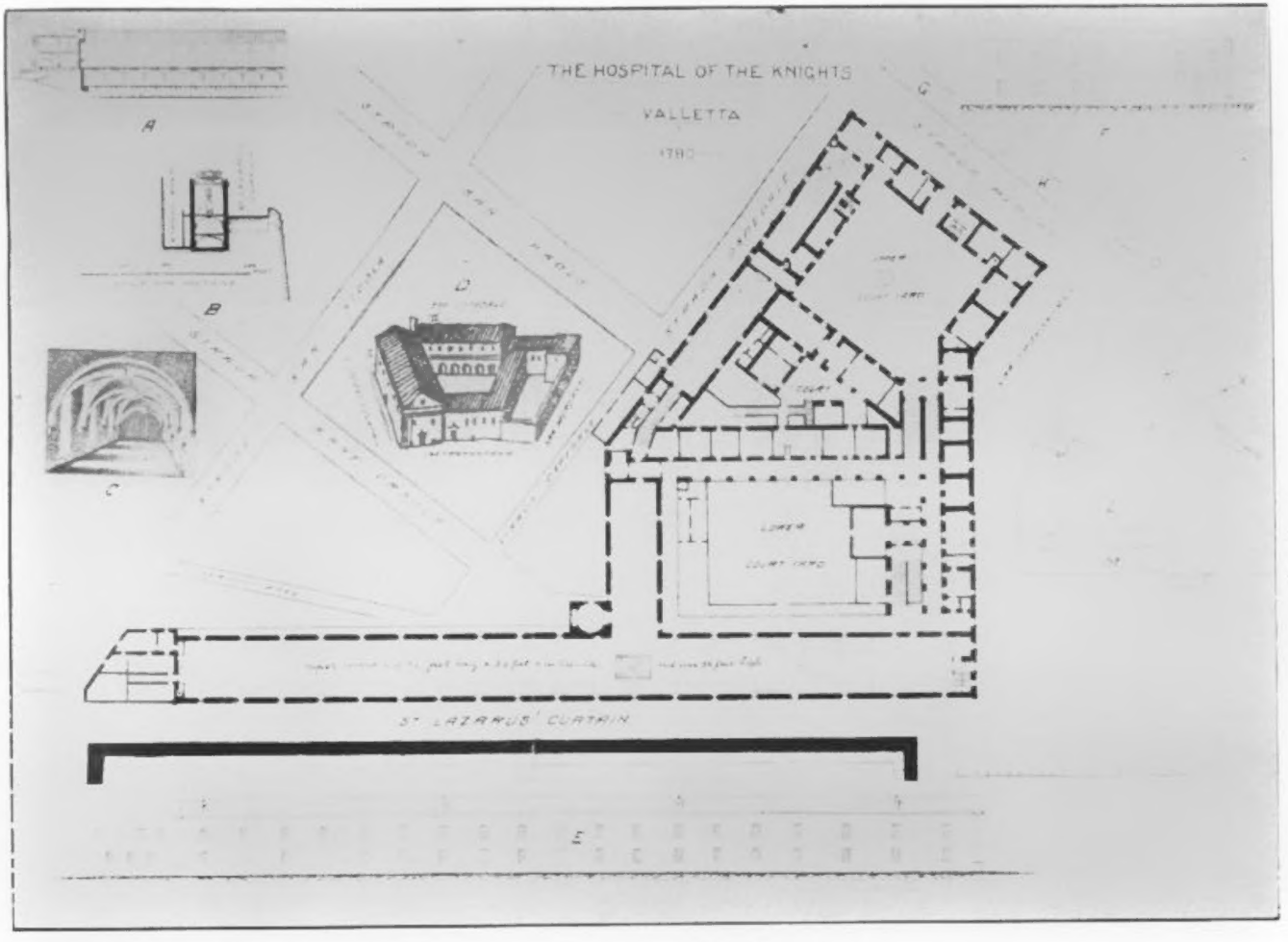

A. Longitudinal section, (Looking west)
B. Transverse section
C. Nave of the lower wards underlying the ward on S. Lazarus curtain
D. View of the hospital in 1620
E. Longitudinal elevation (Looking east)
F. Front elevation on Sda. Mercanti
G. The Camerata
H. Laundry
I. Dissection hall
K. Hospital for Women
M. Nibbia church and cemetery
O. Monastery and church of S. Mary Magdalen

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FOREWORD.

Some two years ago I read a paper before the Malta Historical Society on the documents in our Archives bearing on «the Knights of the Venerable Tongue of England of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, called Knights of Malta». Some friends pressed on me the utility of publishing my work in English so as to make it accessible to the fellow-countrymen of those English Knights of old. This is my attempt to do so.

I hope the sketch here given conveys a sufficiently accurate impression of the Order of the Knights which ruled over this Island for more than two centuries and a half—an Order whose members could attain even sovereignty at a time when, ordinarily, such dignity, except in the case of the Roman Pontiff, could only be reached by princely inheritance.

The training received by the Knights, their life in the Convent, and the aims of their service are here treated in some detail, I believe for the first time.

An introduction, three appendices and a statement of Anglo-Maltese relations up to A.D. 1800 serve as background to the picture of the Venerable Tongue of England and its Knights.

The manuscript materials existing in Malta have been drawn upon and utilised, and much fresh matter illustrating the history of the Knights will be found in both text and foot-notes.

I have spared no pains to reduce the imperfections of my work to a minimum. I trust, however, that its intrinsic interest, will induce my readers to gloss over whatever blemishes may still remain in it.

The difficulties created by the war have considerably delayed publication — At the same time this delay has enabled me to secure additional interesting illustrations, among which I should like to mention the reproductions of the portraits of the Grand Priors Th. Docwra and A. Wysse kindly favoured me by Mr. H. W. Fincham, the Librarian at St. John's Clerkenwell.

A. MIFSUD.

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ERRATA.

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27. 14th line: *for* (Hussey?) *read* (Askew)

31. Note. last line but one: *for* «and on its margin page the following» *read* «and there is the following marginal note.»

33. 7th. line: *for* «seven admissions *read* «Six admissions.»

36. 2nd. parag: last line — *for* «received» *read* «entertained.»

44. Note. last line: *for* «axchange» *read* «exchange.»

„ 13th. line: *for* «Order» *read* «Tongue»

53. 13th. line: *for* «kitchen garden and dependences» *read* «kitchen–garden and dependencies»

55. 11th. line: *for* «Bailwick» *read* «Bailiwick»
Note (3) 1st. line: *for* «Newport» *read* «Newport's.»
2nd. line *for* «Sett» *read* «Septr.»

56. 21st. line: *for* «bailwick» *read* bailiwick.»

58. 1st. line: *for* «Chippanham» *read* «Chippenham.»

59. Note. (2): 12th. line: *for* «nomination of the parochial» *read* «nomination to the parochial.»

60. last line but one *for* «England and at» *read* England at»

65. 13th. line: *for* «impressed» *read* «imposed.»

81. 7th. line: *for* «contigeat» *read* «contingent.»

87. 3rd. line after Turcopilier *add* so called from a corruption of the latin *Turcas pellere.*

91. 12the line: *for* «ing been proved.» *read* «been proved.»

107. last parag: line 5: *after* «apartments» *dele* «on each side.»

109. lines 21 & 22. *dele* «(deposits were created)» and *after* «oil» *read* «reservoirs were (stabished.»

Page.

118. 3rd parag: *for* «Sir Olivier» *read* «Sir Oliver»

121. 8th line *for* «bears to» *read* «bears evidence to.»
2nd. parag: 2nd. line; *for* «to Tongue» *read* «to the Tongue.»
15th line: *for* «knight, and who» *read* «knight, who»

122. last parag: 5th. line: *for* «then» *read* «they»

130. 1st. parag: last line *for* «to lit» *read* «to be split»
2nd parag: 3rd. & 4th lines *for* «was enough to fan» *read* «fanned»
last line: *for* «Turcoplier» *read* «Turcopilier»
Note (1): 8th. line *for* «almagne» *read* «Allemagne.»

133. Note (1): *for* «Recherchers» *read* «Recherches»

138. Note(1): *for* «as» *read* «was.»

140. Note (1): *for* «joung» *read* «young.»

142. last line: *for* «Tonge» *read* «Tongue.»

145. (1) lines 11 & 12: *for* «supied» *read* «supplied.»

149. last parag: line 1: *for* «Thomas» *read* «Nicholas.»

150. 5th. line *for* «rags» *read* «rays.»

152. 7th. line: *for* «Sir Eyles» *read* «Sir Gyles.»
2nd. parag: line 4: *for* «bailwicks» *read* «bailiwicks.»

153. Note, line 29: *for* 1475 *read* 1469—
line 23 *for* «Walter Barale» *read* «Walter Barley and.»

154. Note (1) line 3: *for* «Bailwick» *read* «Bailiwick.»

160. line 4: *for* «judical:» *read* «judicial.»

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161. line 12 *for* «presence» *read* «province»

168. «The BlackBook» line 5 *for* «fight sand» *read* «fights and»

172. lines 6 & 7 *for* «Sir Richard Bruke, the two letter representing» *read* «Sir Richard Bruke—the two latter representing.»

175. 2nd. parag: line 1: *for* «esecutcheon» *read* «escutcheon» last line: *for* «Sovereignity» *read* «Sovereignty»

190. 3rd. parag: *for* «contribution 2000» *read* «a contribu tion of 20000.»

191. Note (1) line 12. *for* «1538» *read* «1528.»

200. Note (1) line 1: *for* «surmarized» *read* «summarized»

201. 3rd. line: *for* «protesting» *read* «protest»

207. Note (3) *after* «Fortescue» *read* «he was related to Anne Boleyn»

208. «Restoration of the Tongue» line 4: *for* «streights» *read* «straits»
2nd. parag. line 6: *for* «influence in» *read* «influence with» line 7 *for* «endevours» *read* «endeavours»
Note (1): *for* «Vol: 460 and» *read* «Vol: 460 L B.»

216. line 6. *for* «inespedency» *read* «inexpediency.»

218 line 12 *for* «therefere» *read* «therefore»

221. line 2: *for* «The» *read* «To»

226. line 1. *for* «1987» *read* «1687.»

227. line 15: *for* Nichalas «*read* «Nicholas.»
Note (2) line 1: *for* «not to be mistaken» *read* «not be mistaken» —

234. line 5 *for* «by 1618» *read* «in 1618.»
Note (2) line 2 *for* «its and» *read* «its» —
Note (3) line 5: *for* «their

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object» *read* «this object» —

241. Note (2) line 1: *for* «agreemant» *read* «agreement.»

243. line 6: *for* «Phlilip II's *read* «Philip's.»

245. Note (4) line 1: *for* «entered» *read* «entry.»
line 3: *for* «acquieshed» *read* «acquiesced.»
line 3: *for* «beligerents» *read* belligerents» —

246. line 17: *for* «those acquire» *read* «acquire those.»

256. line 13: *for* «hunderd» *read* «hundred.»

263. last line of Admiral Byng's letter: *for* «Brttannique Basfleur» *read* «Britannique Barfleur.»

268 line 17: *for* «defence *read* «deference.»

271. line 13: *for* «gnus» *read* «guns.»

272. line 9: *for* «officors» *read* «officers»
Note (1) line 2: *for* «prese ved» *read* «preserved.»

273. end of 2nd parag: *for* The happened in the 1st. of July 175 *read* This happened on the 1st of July 1758 —

274 line 2: *for* «Master and» *read* «Master»

278. Note (3) line 3; *for* practiced *read* «practised»

280. Note(1) line 5. *for* «Knight's» *read* «Knights» line 4, *for* «Prussia's» *read* «Prussia is»

288 line 18: *for* «entered» *read* «entered into—»

297. line 5; *for* «after the his» *read* «after his»

302 2nd. parag: line 6: *for* Jimenes» *read* «Ximenes»

307. 2nd.para: 2nd: line *for* saddlehorses *read* saddle–horses.»

320. line 17: *for* «is retained» *read* «are retained»

321. line 2, *for* «Knighis» *read* «Knights.»

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INTRODUCTION (1).

OUTLINES OF THE HISTORY OF THE KNIGHTS.

As Europe emerged from the turmoil brought about by the dismemberment of the Roman Empire and began to reacquire consistency as an assemblage of states united by the bond of a common Christian faith, the Holy Land, with all its associations, exercised a powerful attraction on the nations of the West. Pilgrims, in ever increasing numbers, undertook the arduous journey and faced the dangers by sea and land which it entailed, to visit the Tomb of Christ and the places hallowed by His Life and Passion. This growing movement, and, even more, the wave of Christian enthusiasm which in the Eleventh Century culminated in the Crusades, called for an organization of some sort which should provide shelter and hospitality suitable to the exigencies of those times.

A small company of knights resolved, in a spirit of Christian charity, to supply this want. They formed themselves into a brotherhood, afterwards known by the name of « the Knights Hospitallers. » with the object of « *protecting the poor, the infirm, the stricken* » ; and they selected a chief or master of their own, who appropriately bore the name of « *Custodian of the Poor of Christ of the Hospital of Jerusalem* ».

---

(1) This short review of the career of the Knights Hospitallers was contributed by the author to « Malta Past and Present » edited by Dr. A. Bartolo and published in April 1913. It is being reproduced here, with slight additions and modifications, as an introduction to this work.

N.B.—The materials on which this introduction and the whole of this work is based—where not otherwise noted—are derived from the official histories and records of the Order preserved in the Malta Archives—See the author's «Appunti sugli Archivi di Malta» —in the «Archivum Melitense.» February 1914.

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The Crusades were the inevitable outcome of the feelings which stirred the heart of Europe during a whole century.

The « Hospitallers » were a necessary corollary of the impulse which led Christians to the Holy Land in pilgrimage to the Tomb of Christ, which made Christian soldiers flock thereto to its rescue.

It became the duty of the Hospitallers to ensure the safety of their Hospital by providing for its defence.

Then the institutes of beneficence established in the new kingdom of Jerusalem, and the safety of the pilgrims in regions surrounded and frequently infested by hostile hordes, absolutely required a permanent force better disciplined than the troops mustered by vassals and dependents of that kingdom.

Baldwin I. King of Jerusalem, therefore, gladly recognised and confirmed the Brotherhood of the Hospitallers. This was in 1104. Pascal II sanctioned the constitution of the Hospitallers by a Bull in 1113. The original Bull is still to be seen in the Palace of the Grand Masters in Valletta.

The followers of the saintly Gerard, the first master, and of Raymond de Puy took for their ensign the white cross on red ground — their badge and inspiration in bringing peace and consolation amidst the din of battle,—the white cross of peace in the bloodstained field of war.

With the exception of this emblematic cross the mem bers had no special uniform. They wore the national costume of their respective country, of the class or rank to which they belonged in the brotherhood.

The plain white cross in course of time changed its shape into the eight pointed cross.

The coat-of-arms, worn over the armour and distinguishing, according to the then prevalent custom, the combatant knights, was the white cross on gules. It was a sort of red shirt of silk or wool, with short sleeves, with a white vertical and horizontal band forming a cross on the breast and on the back.

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THE EMPEROR FREDERICK II ASKING THE HELP OF THE HOSPITALLERS AND TEMPLARS — A.D. — 1223.

School of Joseph D'Arpino – 1620. Painting in the Palace of the Grandmasters - Valletta

LOUIS IX OF FRANCE RESCUED BY THE HOSPITALLERS — A. D. 1250.

School of Joseph D'Arpino – 1620. Painting in the Palace of the Grandmasters - Valletta

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For ecclesiastical and charitable services all members wore the black robe with a cowl in use at the time of their institution by all those who undertook to observe celibacy, individual poverty and obedience to their superiors.

Mostly the scions of a proud nobility, the Hospitallers bound themselves to look upon the poor, the pilgrims and the sick, not merely as their equals, but as their «*lords and masters*». In thus giving practical effect to the dictates of pure Christian charity they were taking an important step towards bringing together the great and the humble of the earth, paving the way for the modern development of civil society. In the eyes of Christian Europe the Hospitallers were the incarnation of the ideal which brought about the Crusades—the union of the forces of Christianity in the service of Religion, fighting for the Faith and lending brotherly help to all such as were in distress.

The threefold office of Hospitality, Religion and Militancy, performed by the three categories of the Order of the Knights Hospitallers, corresponded to the diverse services which each class had preferably to undertake. The distribution into Knights, Chaplains and Servants of Arms sufficed to ensure that no one of the essential duties of the Brotherhood should remain neglected.

Recruits from every part of Europe soon joined the ranks of the Brotherhood to give full scope to its high ideals.

It was natural that these recruits should group themselves in accordance with the territorial divisions and the nationality to which they belonged. Community of language, of custom and of flag thus led to the division of the Order into eight legions or *langues*. To the ever divided and ever warring nations of Europe this was a valuable lesson in efficient organization under one sole direction for common action—constituting for the time being an irresistible power which only union and common aims could produce.

The chief of each legion took his title from the special branch of the hospitality of the Order with which he was specially entrusted. Thus the administration of the pecuniary

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resources of the Hospital gave origin to the «Grand Preceptor» and Commander of the Langue of Provence. The control of military administration gave rise to the office of «The Marshal», the chief of the Langue of Auvergne. « The Hospitaller, » chief of the Langue of France, exercised direct and constant supervision over the Central Infirmary, when the increased cares and duties of the Head of the Order prevented the latter from paying special attention to this service. The need of looking closely into the means of transport and into their adequacy to maintain communication between the centre of the organization and its ramifications all over Europe, brought about the institution of the office of «Admiral,» the Chief of the Langue of Italy,—an office which maritime developments brought into greater harmony with its title. The chief of the Langue of Aragon had jurisdiction and duties somewhat analogous to those of a commissionary general in a modern army, and he was styled the «Grand-conservator»; whilst the proper control of the mounted forces, turcopols and coastguards defending the territory of the Brotherhood, gave rise to the office and title of the Chief of the Langue of England, the « Turcopilier. » The supervision of the fortified outposts of the Hospitallers especially after the erection of the castle St. Peter at Budrum on the coast of Asia Minor was allotted to the chief of the German Langue who was called the «Grand-Bailiff». Then as the Chancery of the Order acquired importance, it gave the title of «Chancellor» to the chief of the Langue of Leon and Castile—the junior of the *Balìs* or Piliers of the Convent.

The Grand Master, compared by some to the Doge of Venice, linked together the several branches of the Corporation. He supervised the execution of the laws and constitutions, regulated the action of the organization and regularised the working of its highly complex machinery. As representative of the power and greatness of the Order he put himself on a par with kings and princes. He assumed princely pre-eminences and prerogatives in Rhodes, and, afterwards, in Malta.

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Grand Master de Vilhena with his Casque (pileum) and sword of honour. (From a painting in the Palace of the Grand Masters, Malta).

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The Grand Masters of Malta becamé Masters of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre in consequence of the amalgamation of the property of this Order with that of Malta in 1616. « Serene Highness » and « Eminence » were titles borne since 1620 and 1630 respectively, by the Prince Grand Masters. The Emperor Napoleon I recognized such titles by a special rescript in the case of the dethroned Hompesch (1).

Popes bestowed on them the same honours given to sovereigns (2).

---

(1) Napoleon's decree runs as follows:

1).—Bureau du Ministre.

Ministère du Trésor Public.

Extrait de le table de Travail du Ministre du Trésor Public avec S.M. l'Empereur au Conseil d'Administration tenu le 23. Brumaire an 13

14-15. Le Ministre du Trésor public prend les ordres de S.M. sur le Titre a donner a' M. Hompesch &

Décision, Il sera donne' dans le Certificat d'Inscription les noms et prénoms avec le Titre Altesse Sérénissime Eminentissime.

2).—Trésor Public—Pensions Nouvelles payables intégralement. Certificat d'Inscription.—N. 36. Volume Pr: somme 300,000.

Le soussigné Directeur des Pensions, certifie que Son Altesse Sérénissime Eminentissime Hompesch (Ferdinand Joseph Herman Antoine) né le 9 Novembre 1744 est inscrit sur le registre des Pensions, pour une somme annuelle, et intégrale de trois cent mille Francs payable intégralement.

A Paris le 24. Brumaire de l'an 13 de la République Française une et indivisible.

Le Directeur des Pensions,

(signé) HARMAND

Jouissance du 27. Vendémiaire an. 13 (Copy in Ms. 417 Public Library Malta).

(2) Sixtus V, Julius II and Leo X presented the English sovereigns Edward III, Henry VII and Henry VIII, respectively, with the silver gilt sword and purple velvet gold embroidered casque with the emblem of the Holy Ghost set in pearls. The same honours were bestowed by Benedict XIII on Manoel de Vilhena (1725), by Benedict XIV on Pinto (1747) by Clement XIV on Ximenes (1774) and by Pius VI on Hompesch (May 1798) through Mgr. Giulio Carpegna, the last Papal Nuncio to the Court of the Prince Grand Master of Malta. Vide-Relation de l'estoc et du chapeau envoyes à M. de Vilhena, Paris 1725.

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Admission into the Order and the training of its members were regulated on principles which struck the Historian of the Order, Baudin, as analogous with those of the ancient republic of Sparta. The Statutes of 1533 laid down that candidates were to be not less than eighteen years old, strong, well formed, fit to endure hardships, in good health, of sane intellect and of good character. They were shut out from social intercourse, inured to the hardships of a soldier's life, and kept for one year under a training in which examples of frugality, obedience, discipline and beneficence were given them. Life in common in their auberge, with its segregation from the subject population, tended to infuse and foster in them a consciousness of superiority, and to impress the popular mind with the importance of their positions. They were thus made to acquire a prestige, the consciousness of which contributed towards their prowess and invincibility.

In later years a limited number of boys of noble birth were allowed to become members of the Order of Malta. The Prince Grand Master attached sixteen of these youths to his court as pages. They had to prove their nobility, but until they came of age and had chosen to enter the regular profession of the Knights they were not subject to the obligations of regular Knights. Those who were admitted as honourary members and were called «Knights of honour and devotion» in later stages of the career of the Order, substituted the aggregated (devotional or honorary or females) closely linked to the Order from the beginning by Gerard himself.

Each legion had its own quarters, called « Regional Hospices » or « Auberges » —imposing buildings which still bear testimony to the habitual segregation of the Knights in their official residences from the rest of the community (1).

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(1) The first mention of these *Auberges* occurs in one of the statutes of the order enacted in 1344. A reference is therein made to previous ones approved at the meetings held in their former auberges at Caesarea and Jaffa in Palestine.

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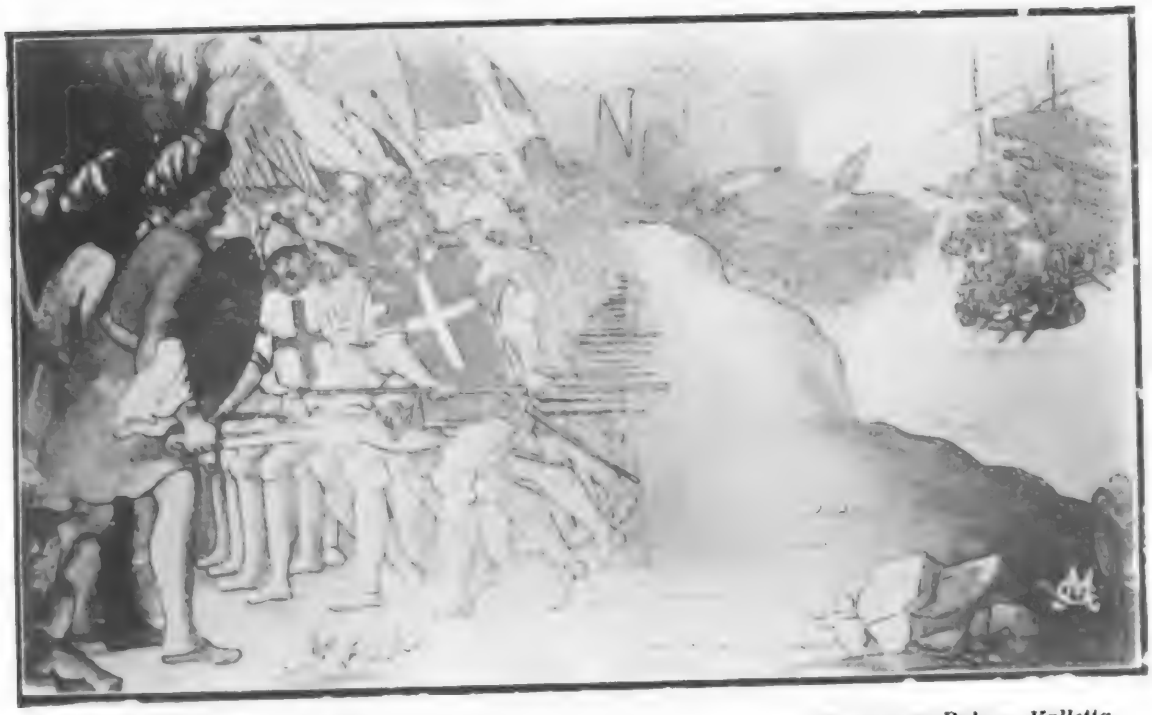

By D'Arpino's disciples - 1625 *Governor's Palace, Valletta*

SIEGE AND LOSS OF ACRE — A. D. 1291

By D'Arpino's disciples - 1625 *Governor's Palace, Valletta*

ARRIVAL OF THE GRAND MASTER JOHN DE VILLERS AT LYMASSOL, CYPRUS — A.D. 1291.

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The regional hospice or auberge in the international centre of the Corporation brought together the members of the same nationality and fostered their intercourse and sense of fellowship. Over the auberge, by the side of the flag of the Order, waved on the left the national flag and on the right the flag of the Grand Master for the time being.

The service, merit and seniority of the members of the Order were the grounds on which « baliages » and « commanderies » were conferred. A Knight could not aspire to nomination to a Commandery before serving three years in the Order. To obtain dignities and baliages he had to serve for still longer periods, part of which was to be spent in the « Convent » or head-quarters.

Here the Knights performed general service, including a number of « caravans » or fixed periods of service on board the vessels of the Order. They served also in the fortresses, in the hospitals, and in other branches of work of the Corporation.

So long as the Christian flag waved over Palestine, the Hospitallers remained there. Ever foremost in the post of danger, they took part in every combat and had a place on all councils. From their several strongholds, including Krals and Margat in the county of Tripoli, they did good work in the defence of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Their history is in fact intimately connected with that of the realm, with which the Order was associated both in prosperity and adversity. Garnier de Napolouse, one of the two probable English Masters of the Order, formerly prior of England, was the companion and counsellor of Richard I Coeur-de-Lion on his way to the east and during the crusade. To his custody, this English sovereign entrusted Isaac Comnenus, the conquered lord of Cyprus, as prisoner at the Hospitallers fortress of Margat. (1) Raymond du Puy seized Ascalon. His successors founded the station of Acre, raising there a sumptuous

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(1) j. Delaville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers en Terre Sainte et à Chypre, Paris 1904 p. 115.

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cathedral dedicated to St. John, first patron and protector of the Order, and the name, St. John of Acre, supplanted the local name of Ptolemais by which Acre had been known.

It was with Gibert d'Ascali, or De Sailly, the other English Grand Master, that the Hospitallers' territorial sovereignity had its inception. Behomond III prince of Antioch (Jan. 1168) and King Almeric for the Count of Tripoli (1170) bestowed on them territorial property on the northern frontier of the Latin Kingdom and granted to them the right to make war and peace and exempted them from the payment of any customary contribution to the sovereign lord out of booty they might obtain (1).

During their tenure of Acre the Emperor Frederic II sought their help, and they carried succour to the Christians of Armenia against the Sultan of Iconium. At another time they fought step by step against the invading Turks, who profited by the discord among the Crusaders and the consequent weakening of their strength. At Damietta they stood by the side of the saintly King Louis, the last representative of western power who moved to the protection of the Holy Places. They helped him with their substance towards obtaining his ransom when he fell prisoner of the Sultan of Egypt; and when he afterwards fell on the shores of Egypt, in 1270, the Knights held on singlehanded against triumphant barbarism, making the Infidels pay dearly for every inch of ground they gained.

Driven out of Palestine they took up their quarters at Limassol, a small port in Cyprus, which, without being a point of strategical importance, allowed them to create the nucleus of their future maritime power.

The first mention of a ship of the Knights Hospitallers occurs in 1165 with reference to a voyage of Pope Alexander III and several Roman Cardinals from Montpellier to Messina. A « Dromone » belonging to these Knights

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(1) De la Ville le Roulx, Cartulaire des Hospitaliers—nos. 391 and 411.

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had to face and force its way, says Paciaudi, Memorie, v 2., through the galleys of Pisa put up by Emperor Frederic I against the Pope. An agreement with the municipality of Marseilles limits (3 October 1233) the privilege of trade of the Knights' vessels with their port to two boats, capable of carrying 1500 men, one at a time every six months.

The official in charge of this navy was at the time called «Commendator Navium» as appears from the ratification deed of the 17 April 1234. Their boat «La Contesse» was taken by King Louis IX's officials in 1246 as the type to be adopted for other twenty vessels then needed to transport the crusaders to the Holy Land. King Charles II of Anjou gives us the name of another ship of the Knights, the « Bonaventura » which was conveying (1278) from Brindisi to Acre Margaret daughter of Viscount Beaumont son of John King of Jerusalem.

If we are to consider these vessels as mere carrying ships, as in all likelihood they were meant to be, then the fighting navy of the Order had its beginnings early at the commencement of the XIV century.

In the position which Islamism now assumed it was not difficult to foresee that the Mediterranean would become the fighting ground of the future. The Hospitallers were not slow to perceive this, and they strove to secure the means of fully exercising on that sea their cosmopolitan hospitality. They grasped that, without independence, any temporal potentate on whose territory they might settle would necessarily become the moderator of the Order and of its hospitality. They realised that strict neutrality in the struggles between European states unavoidably imposed itself on the Order if it was to preserve the harmony and equilibrium of the elements composing it and if it was not to jeopardise its revenues derived from property situated in the territories belonging to the different nationalities. To be able to assist all Christian nations alike against the Infidel, and to be able to exercise hospitality towards all, they must need be free from every entangling friendship with any power in particular. These conditions could not be secured without sovereignty.

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Rhodes offered them the advantages they sought for. They seized and made themselves sovereigns of that island. The nations of Europe gratefully acclaimed them «Knights of Rhodes.»

Rhodes, already famous in antiquity, now became, and continued to be for two centuries, the stronghold of Christendom against the incessant and desperate onslaughts of the Osmanlis. The Knights, always with an eye to the reconquest of the Holy Places, with their newly organised fleet made frequent attacks on Ottoman territory forcing the Turks to pay them greater respect. They seized Smyrna in 1344 and made a descent on, and pillaged Alexandria in 1365.

When Hungary found itself threatened by the Infidel it was with the help of these champions of the Cross that the battle of Nicopolis was fought and won (1396).

The Sultan Mahomet despatched a powerful host to lay siege to Rhodes, in 1480. The Knights offered a heroic resistance and finally drove the discomfited Turk out of the Island. Grand Master d'Aubusson, the hero of the siege, thereupon was raised to the Cardinalate, and by the accidents of war he had to afford hospitality and protection to Jem or Zain brother of Bajazet Sultan of the Turks.

The rivalries between Charles V. and Francis I, not less than the commotions caused by Luther, must have contributed to the failure of Christian Europe to give timely assistance to Villiers l'Isle Adam and his Knights in their resistance to the renewed assaults of the Turks under Soliman the Magnificent, who, in 1522, with vastly superior forces, after a prolonged siege, compelled the Hospitallers to abandon Rhodes, and seek temporary shelter at Viterbo.

If L'Isle Adam endured the misfortune of being the last Grand Master of the Knights of Rhodes, he had at least the consolation of becoming the first Grand Master of the Knights of Malta.

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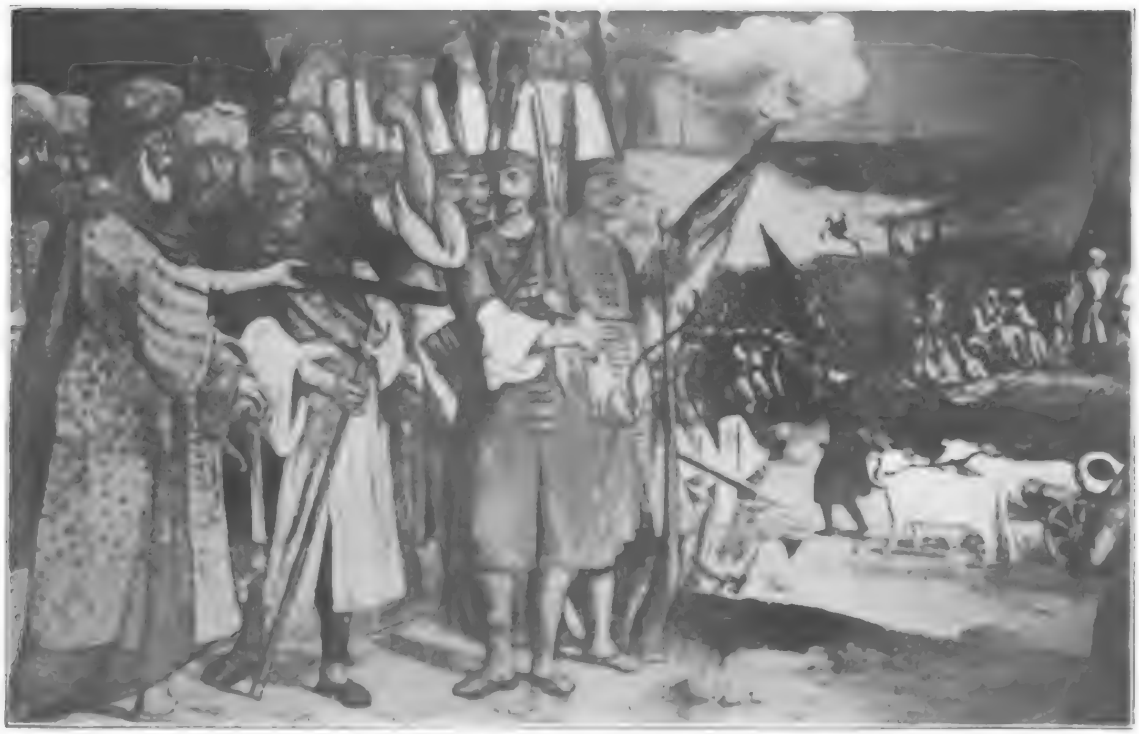
By D'Arpino's disciples - 1620 *Governor's Palace, Valletta*

ASSAULT AND CAPTURE OF RHODES BY THE HOSPITALLERS — A.D. 1309.



By D'Arpino's disciples - 1620 *Governor's Palace, Valletta*

SIEGE OF RHODES BY THE TURKS — A. D. 1480.

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Through the interposition of Pope Clement VII, Malta, Gozo and Tripoli were ceded to the Order by Charles V, with the consent of all the sovereigns of Christendom, (including Henry VIII) in so far as they were particularly concerned by the interests of their respective subjects forming part of the Brotherhood.

Malta, and more properly, first Birgu, now Vittoriosa, and then Valletta, like the preceding seats of the Order in Jerusalem, Margat, Acre, Cyprus and Rhodes, was called the "Convent" (Conventum), as being the centre of the international aristocratic community, where the Head of the Order, his Court, his Council and the Langues held their official residences and carried on, in appropriate buildings, their duties towards humanity in general, and towards Christianity and themselves in particular.

The Order, once settled in Malta, again took up its militant role and waged war against the Moslem pirates and Barbary Corsairs infesting the Mediterranean. Malta became the refuge of Christian vessels in danger, and many captured Christians owed their rescue to the prowess of the Knights, who, in their new home, repeated the feats for which they had gained renown in Rhodes.

The story of the Count of Erbach, among others,—confirmed by still extant documents of the Chancery of the Order,—shows that protection was afforded to Christians, of whatever denomination, by the vessels of the Order. The Knights of Malta fought the Turkish galleons and the Moorish Corsairs wherever they met them. In 1535 they joined the Spanish expedition against Tunis. And if in 1551 they suffered, at the hands of the famous Dragut, the loss of Tripoli—too advanced and too weak an outpost in the very heart of the enemy's territory—the renowned Corsair paid with his life the attempt to wrest Malta from them in 1565.

The stirring episodes of the great siege of Malta in that year are too well known to need repetition here. That memorable defence, in which the Maltese had an important

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share, shattered the hopes of the Turks of demolishing the barrier which stood in the way of their advance into the very heart of the Mediterranean. The heroism and ability displayed by the Grand Master on that occasion was recognised by the whole Catholic world and his own fraternity and subjects perpetuated his name, borne till the present day, by the city of La Vallette.

At Lepanto, and, in fact, wherever the Cross fought against the Crescent during the next hundred years, the Knights of Malta were always foremost. The defeat of the Turks by John Sobieski under the walls of Vienna in 1683 finally broke the back of the Mussulman power and the importance of Malta, as the bulwark of Christendom against Islamic arrogance, waned with the decadence of the Turks. The military efficiency of the Order declined as a consequence.

The strenght of the naval power of the Knights consisted under ordinary circumstances, in seven or eight war-galleys and in a squadron of four or five line-of-battle-ships added to the fleet after 1700. The galleys and ships which were armed and provided for, as a personal enterprise, by the Grand Masters, by individual Knights and by the inhabitants of these islands, may be considered as an auxiliary force.

The Conventual Church, St. John's, in the severe simplicity of its structure, and the gorgeousness of its decoration, exemplifies the austerity of the monk coupled to the glimmer and pomp of Chivalry.

Mattias Preti, the artist Knight, devised its decoration. Caravaggio, Erardi and Favray's paintings embelish the chapels.

The life-story of the Order's Patron Saint, the Precursor, covers the vaulted roof, framed in a gallery of Hospitaller saints and heroes.

The tapestry hangings, adaptations from Rubens' Cartoons, give the salient episodes of the Lord's Life and Passion, symbolise the Triumph of Faith, embodying the central doctrine of Catholic Belief—the Eucharist.

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By D'Arpino's disciples - 1620 *Governor's Palace, Valletta*

L'ISLEADAM LEAVES RHODES — A. D. 1522.

By D'Arpino's disciples - 1620 *Governor's Palace, Valletta*

L'ISLEADAM GOES TO VITERBO — A. D. 1524.

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The Monuments and sepulchral stones record the deeds of these champions of the Church Militant.

In raising this majestic temple to the Glory of God, the Knights epitomised the source and essence, the life and, indeed, the whole story of their renowed Order.

The spacious Sacred Infirmary, the whilom field of hospitaller activity ; the Magisterial residence,—still universally admired and found deserving in modern times of giving hospitality to British Sovereigns and to Spanish and German potentates—the subsidiary palaces of Sant'Antonio and Verdala ; the Public Library, the Bakery, the Granaries, the Armoury, the Foundry, the Arsenal, the Castellany and many other still existing buildings, together with the imposing fortifications are sufficient evidence of the ideals and work of the Knights in Malta.

The escutcheon of the Kings of Jerusalem—five golden crosses on field argent—the emblem of the Langue de Provence, stood on the Chapel of Provence in St. John's, and waved over the front of the building in Str. Reale now known as the "Union Club."

The ensign with the Fleurs des Lis waved in analogues circumstances over the Auberge de France in Str. Mezzodi. Other particular national ensigns similarly pointed to regional centres of fraternal hospitality in different parts of Valletta. Over the Xenodochy's open gates the words "Janua patet cor magis" as much in fact as the maxim "Laborare est orare" are typical of the spirit of the every day life of the monk knight of Malta.

The Slave Prison and the large number of slaves at times kept in the island point to the activity of the naval forces of the Order when at the height of its power, and, even later, so long as means and circumstances permitted.

Down to the end the seamen of Christian Europe, without distinction, were welcomed to the Hospital of Malta. So ingrained was the spirit of hospitality in the Order that Grand Master De Rohan even established, on the deserted shores of Lampedusa, a refuge for Christian seafarers who might fall victims to the storm-tossed seas of the Channel

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of Malta, and placed a priest of the Order with six Hospitallers in charge.

The ships of the Order went promptly to the help of Messina and Calabria in the terrible earthquake of 1783. In that same year they joined the Venetian fleet in the bombardament of Goletta. In the following year, in conjunction with a Spanish squadron, they chased the Corsairs and pursued them into the port of Algiers, giving them an exemplary lesson. In 1794 active warfare against the Pirates was still being carried on. Two hundred Mahomedan slaves were captured from Moorish ships and subsequently bought back by the Sultan at 100 *louis* per slave.

But the politico-social movement which had been agitating Europe gradually changed the condition of affairs hitherto prevalent.

The affluence which had accrued to the Order from its infancy and which had gone on increasing with its growth, by the incorporation of the property of the suppressed Templars and of the fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre, subsequently suffered serious losses by the appropriation of its property by the various civil powers of Europe. The revenues of the Order thus considerably reduced, eventually brought the Brotherhood to great straits in the attempt to maintain its politico-social status.

Of the eight Military Orders created for the purpose of warring against the Infidels and possessed of sovereign power, some have disappeared altogether, others have lost their sovereign prerogatives. The Order of Malta, depauperised and despoiled by the French Revolution, sought the support of the Russian Autocrat receiving from him protection and temporary shelter which saved it from total ruin.

As the causes for which the Hospitallers originally came into being ceased to be operative and as the ideals of Chivalry relaxed their hold on men, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem necessarily lost some of its pristine ardour. So long, however, as the power of the Turk remained a menace to Europe the Order still had a noble mission to

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fulfil to the advantage of the whole community of Christian nations.

The multifarious scopes of its activities, the noble buildings it raised, the well-organized and well-administered institutions it maintained, show the earnestness of purpose of its members, their enlightenment and culture and their labouriousness in carrying on its duties; and if during its latter days of comparative inactivity the vagaries of some of its younger members are deserving of blame, the corporation as a whole, with its high ideals and its long roll of noble deeds of valour and Christian charity, ought not to share in that disapprobation.

Throughout the whole period of its independent corporate existence the Order continued to display in many of its members the altruism which distinguished it from its inception. The many bequests left by individual Knights, the liberal donations by others of their possessions for the furtherance of the beneficence, hospitality and military service of the Brotherhood, bring to light the true spirit in which many of the scions of European nobility had entered and had spent their life in the Order. The fortresses of Ricasoli, Manuel and Tigné, are among the latest instances of the liberality of individual Knights in providing for the defence of the Convent. Other illustrious names still clinging to localities in Malta, such as the Wignacourt acqueduct, Casal Paula, Argotti gardens, Cotonera, Vilhena, Senglea, Pinto and Rohan towns, De Redin towers, Manuel Theatre, Pinto magazines and others, evoke memories of the endeavours of individual Knights Hospitallers to further the noble aims of their Corporation (1).

The Naval Hospital of the British Mediterranean Fleet, looking on the Grand Harbour of Valletta, still bears the name of «Bighi» Hospital, because it rises on a site once occupied by the country-house of the Knight Giovanni Bichi. Few people, however, are likely to appreciate the appropria-

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(1) *See* Achille Ferris, Memorie dell'Ordine in Malta—Malta 1881; and Appendix I. Notes on Knights and their Buildings in Malta.

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teness of historical coincidence which the name involves. Bichi was the nephew of Pope Alexander VIII who had received his episcopal consecration in the Jesuit Church in Strada Mercanti (1635 July 1st) when Papal Nuncio to the Grandmaster Antoine de Paule. Giovanni Bichi rose through various grades in the Order to the Priorate of Capua. He was then given command of the Papal squadron which acted in conjunction with the Maltese and Venetian fleets in various expeditions to the Levant. As Admiral of the Papal Fleet Bichi made strenuous efforts to ameliorate the condition of sailors by the establishment of a hospital for seamen at Civitavecchia in the Papal States. Is it not a strange coincidence that his name in later times should have come to be coupled with the best appointed Naval Hospital which Great Britain possesses in the Mediterranean?

«Spinola,» the name of the late Military Forrest Hospital, of its adjoining fortifications, surrounding lands, and of the palatial residence of that name in Strada Reale, brings to mind P. Raffaele and Giovanni B. Spinola, Balìs and Admirals of the Order, who bought all that property with their own money to found a Commandery in Malta. Owing to supervening difficulties the foundation had to take the shape of an Abbacy, and Giovanni, to enter into its tenure, took the clerical tonsure, still retaining his military office,—capturing in fact, as General of the Galleys, a Turkish Galleon, «The Sultana Binghen» of eighty guns! (A. D. 1700.)

But this was not a solitary instance of a Knight being a tonsured cleric at one and the same time.

The career of the Knight Gio.Otto Bosio, the brother and helper of the historian Jacomo, and nephew of Tommaso, Bishop of Malta. (1531-1539) and of the Bali Antonio Bosio,—the indefatigable Ambassador and spokesman of the Order in its efforts to obtain the cession of Malta—was another more important exemplification of the coupling of clerical tonsure and Military Knighthood.

Bosio was in fact one of two beneficed clerics of the Cathedral of Malta filling at the same time the knightly office of Secretary and Procurator of Grand Master La Cas-

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siere. His brilliant feats during the great siege of 1565 were afterwards obscured by a quarrel with a brother Knight in Piazza S. Pietro at Rome. Swords were drawn in this accidental encounter and the wounded Bosio killed his adversary Fr. Guevara. Bosio was of course deprived of his habit and condemned to death by the Civil Tribunal. In the end Sixtus V, in 1585, in consideration of his former services, pardoned and re-instated him. The re-instated Bosio, having become the senior among the knight-commanders resident in Malta, was allowed to take the chair reserved in the Council of the Order to the head or Pilier of the Tongue of England (23 February 1616) while that Tongue was dormant. This privilege as well as his passing to the Bailiwick of Pavia aroused opposition from other knights on the ground that he was a *knight of grace* and not a *knight of justice*. It should here be explained that the lack of the requisite nobility of birth or other default preventing admittance of a deserving aspirant into the class of knights in his own right, used to be made good by special grant and favour of the sovereign power of the Grand Master and Order, whence the name of *knight of grace*.

The rank of 'Knight' which may be identified with the *miles* of the Middle Ages, traces its origin from the division of the land-domain into fiefs burdened with military service. Noble birth was essential for the eligibility of aspirants to the rank of knight. And those, in whom military training, age, the wealth necessary for their up-keep and a stainless character, fitted them for knighthood could only attain it by sovereign privilege. Four peculiarities rendered costly the career of a knight or professional soldier and warrior of the golden period, namely: offensive and defensive weapons (which included the coat of mail and plate armour for the knight and his horse), three horses (battle charger, palfrey or courser, and the pack-horse), attendants (one of whom was the shield bearer) and banner.

The serjeants-at-arms or esquires, among whom even the members of the above mentioned noble class received their military training, were raised to knighthood, though

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lacking noble birth, as a reward for special services and ability.

The servants at-arms and the professed chaplains took part equally with the knights in the election of the Grand Master and up to a certain date they enjoyed commanderies and dignities promiscuously and on the same footing with the knights. This explains why the dignity of Turcopolier was originally held by servants-at-arms. (1)

The honorary title and pre-eminences enjoyed by the Bishop of Malta to the present day are traceable to the past connection of the Order with the island. The Bishop of Malta for the time being is, by Pontifical Bull of 1797, titular Archbishop of Rhodes, constituting a link with the past tenure of Rhodes by the Knights of Malta. This ecclesiastical dignitary ranked with the Grand Crosses of the Order, and as such he was entitled to the military and naval salute ordered by the general regulations issued by Grand Masters Zondadari and Rohan in 1720 and 1777

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(1) De la Ville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers p. 292.

The earliest records in our Archives distinguish the Order of the Hospitallers into its three classes of professed brethren which are reducted in all the printed statutes under the chapter *De receptione fratrum*. Consuetudo.

« Fratrum nostrorum triplex est differentia. Alii enim sunt milites, alii sacerdotes, alii servientes. Sacerdotum autem et servientum status rursus in duo dividitur: Sacerdotum, in sacerdotes conventuales, et sacerdotes obedientiae. Servientum, in servientes armorum, videlicet in conventu receptos,—et servientes officii vel stagii. Qui vero sub gradu militiae ad hoc idoneus et aptus, pro forma statutorum et consuetudinum ad professionem nostris Ordinis admitti postulabit, *priusquam habitum suscipiat*, et professionem faciat, *cingulo militiae decoretur necesse est*. Si autem ab aliquo principe Catholico, aut altero, facultatem militiam praestandi habente, militiae insegna non fuerit adeptus, a fratre milite ordinis nostri suam professionem recipiente... recipiat: et demum ordine praefato ineat professionem. Capellanos autem et servientes armorum et officii, insignibus militiae decorare non oportet, nec consuetum nec ordinatum est; sed sub eodem gradu ad professionem admittantur.» *Ms. Harl. 3345* in J. M. Kemble, and L. B. Larking. The Knights Hospitallers in England, London 1857.

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respectively. Hence it was that General Pigot, on the assumption of the Government of these islands as representative of Great Britain, in September 1800, issued orders that the Bishop of Malta was to received the military salute (1).

England, whose Sovereigns, Henry VII and Henry VIII, accepted in 1505 and 1511 the protectorate of the Order, by assisting the Maltese in 1798 to recover their territory which had slipped out of the hands of the Knights, remained and still remains the custodian of the monument which gave its name to the Knights who though now bereft of their ancient grandeur still form a self-governing Corporation free in the conduct of its work and in the admission of its members (2).

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(1) The orders issued on the 26th April 1720 ran as follows:

« Onori che li comandanti de' Posti devono fare alli qui nominati ufficiali o Gran Croci:...3.—Si farà mettere l'armi in spalla e rappellare il tamburro per tutti li ven. gran croci, vescovo, Prior della Chiesa ed Inquisitore...» (vol. 524 lib. Bull. an. 1720 f. 137. *Archives at the Public Registry, Malta.*)

And the orders to the navy printed on the 25 Sept. 1777—Malta, Stamperia di Palazzo pp. 22 & 23) read thus:

« 4. —Tutti li Signori Gran Croci... saranno ricevuti con armi in spalla, battendo il tamburro la chiamata, e salutati tre volte a voce...

7.—Essendo poi le navi fuori di Malta, in mare o nei Porti forastieri...9.—Tutti li Signori Gran Croci saranno ricevuti come in Porto, e nello sbarcare saranno salutati tre volte a voce e con nove tiri di cannone.»

The first «Standing orders in the garrison of La Valette and its dependencies» state: «No. 21. His Eminence, the Bishop of Malta, is to receive from all guards, the honours due to a Brigadier General. No.22. To Captain Ball, Head of the Maltese, all Guards are to turn out with shouldered arms once a day».

(2) Kings and Princes to this day wear the insigna of the Order. King Edward VII, not long ago, landed on these shores wearing the eight-pointed cross he had received from the Grand Master of the Order of Malta, the predecessor of His Most Serene Highness Prince Thun Hohenstein, the present holder of the Title.

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THE VENERABLE TONGUE OF ENGLAND (1)

The Christian fighting fraternity of the Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St. John was divided into eight legions, formed on the basis of the languages spoken by the brethren. One such legion was «the Venerable Tongue of England», which included the nationalities represented by the three lions «passant guardant», the lion « rampant », and the harp,—now constituting the British Royal Standard.

The British Royal Escutcheon thus came to be the emblem and banner of this legion which with its dignitaries, knights, servants-at-arms, brothers chaplains and knights of honour, was one of the units in the international corporation exercising hospitality and fighting the Infidel by land and sea under the glorious ensign of the White Cross on red ground.

The records of the Order during the time in which the Knights Hospitallers held Malta as their Convent or headquarters, now form part of the collection of documents preserved in the Archives of these Islands. And they are well worth examination and study as sidelights of the history of most countries of Europe.

Thus the «Liber in quo continentur deliberationes V. Linguae Angliae» or « *The Boke of assembles by me Torcoplyare fr. William Weston de die 10 de Juljo 1523 and shall please God* » (2) is a veritable mine of information as to the relations of England and of individual Englishmen, with the Order during the troubled times o: the later Tudor sovereigns and of the Stuarts.

This and other records in the Malta Public Library and the Maltese Archives show how the dealings which England and Englishmen have had with Malta ascend to a much earlier epoch than that of the «Melitensium Amor»

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(1) An abstract of this monograph was read by the author to the Malta Historical and Scientific Society on the 11 May 1914.

(2) Ms. No. 955 of the Malta P. Library.

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and the «Europae vox» inscribed over the principal square of Valletta, and in fact go back to the times of Henry VIII of England and of the Emperor Charles V.

Admission to the Tongue.

A statutory requisite for admission to the Tongue of England was, that the candidate should have been born within the territorial limits assigned to the Priories and Commanderies of England, Ireland and Scotland (1).

Any departure from this fundamental rule, occasionally allowed for special reasons, placed almost always the person thus favoured in difficulties as against those born within the prescribed limits.

Frater Antonio Gaufre, nicknamed « Vinadiera, » for instance, had been serving in the Order for several years. On the 8th of January 1554 he was admitted in the Tongue as a *Knight of grace* and not as a *Knight of Justice*, « for because he ys not of the limits. » He had to forfeit for the same reason his right of seniority to the commandery of Torphichen in favour of the Knight John James Sandilands of Scotland though the latter had only been received in the Tongue on the same 8th of January (2).

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(1) Statutes 19, *De receptione fatrum* and 30, *De Commendis*. « Declarantes limites prioratuum .... Angliae, totam insulam Angliae cum regno Scotiae et insulam Hiberniae ». Statuto della S. Religione Gerosolmitana. Borgo-novo 1676 pp. 14 and 185.

(2) Memorandū at a toung howldñ by lisense of my lord mr. fra glavdo dela sargla the eghtt day of Jener. 1554. We have resseved knyghtt of thys Religion owar welbelovid brother ser Jhames Sandilandis as other Jentilmen of Scotland has bin ressevid before and wher we have receved for knyghtt and brother of owar towng and nassion of Ingland ser antonj gaffroy of grace for because he ys not of the limitts. this Jentilman ys cotent to take him for avnsiant towching the commandre of terfichen in Scotland. In witnis the sayd ser Jamis the yowngер has writt his name m. pria. James Sandilandis.» Ms. 955 f. 107. M. P. L.

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Frater Antonio had enjoyed precedence by seniority of admission into the Order and had acquired a claim to the commandery since the 2nd. April 1547 (1).

He had served, moreover, as special envoy to His Holiness on the 9th August. 1538. And yet all these claims were of no avail to him. However, the reputation he had won among his colleagues in the Chapter, and the very little probability he had of obtaining commanderies in the Tongue of England, though he had been acting as its lieutenant Turcopolier and had represented it in the Chapter held in 1555, secured for him permission to obtain dignities in other Tongues (2).

Another instance is that of the Balì Jean Francois Astrong Segreville, Senescal, and a nephew of Grand Master Cardinal Verdala. Segreville obtained from his uncle, on the 25th April 1591, nomination to the Priory of England, but had to beat his retreat before Andrew Wisse, an Irishman, Balì of the Eagle, who obtained from the *S. Rota Romana* two sentences adjudging to him the Priory of England, because he was by birth a native of the limits of the Tongue (3).

In view of the claims and eventual collisions arising from this rule of « limits, » Clement VIII, by his *Motu*

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(1) «Memorandum at a toung holdun by lissense of my Lord grett mr. f^{a}. Jhón de homedes the secund day of ap^{rl} 1547, the same time was leffetenant torcopliar f^{a}. owald massingberd. the same day we have ressavid to be knyghtt of this religion and of the toung of yngland f^{a}. antonio geufre, and for because he ys not of the limetts we have ressevid hym of grace spssial and to gevhe hym hys ansianite of the commandre of terffechen in Scotland, that now ys in possesion f^{a}. Jacobo sandlands vethowtt sekyng any other in yngland of the same tong. In vitnys of the truth we have afermyd thys w^{t} owar hands.— the lefftenant torcopliar ser oswald massingberd fr. nycollas upton.—» The Handwriting is of Massingberd Ms.955 f. 46 M. P. L.

(2) Vol. Capitoli genli. an. 1555 f. 28.Archives P. Registry, Malta.

(3) Lib. Bullarum annorum 1591-2 vol.446 f. 146 and L.Bull.an. 1592-3 f. 318 at the Archives in the P. Registry Malta. They contain the minutes of the Bulls of the Magisterial chancery issued in 1591 and on July 8th 1593 in favour of Segreville & of Wisse.

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Proprio « Inter Multos, » given from S. Peter on the 1st of March 1594, laid down, that persons appointed to dignities in the Tongue of England, either by the Grand Master or by the Holy See, could neither be included among the eight electors of the Grand Master nor have the right to vote unless they belonged to the limits of the said Tongue (1).

Nobility of birth and other qualifications.

The other qualifications for admission to the Tongue were those common to all the other Members of the Corporation including that of nobility of birth, for Knights of Justice, of legitimacy, and of belonging to an honourable family for the other members.

The General Assembly or Chapter of the Knights, held at Fort S. Angelo in Malta, in 1532, better to enforce the observance of the condition of nobility of birth, decreed that aspirants to knighthood in the Tongue of England should bring with them and exhibit in Malta the proofs of theirnobility, and that should the Grand Prior of England send any one to Malta who was not in a position to produce such proofs, his maintenance and travelling expenses would be charged to the Grand Prior himself (2).

The minutes of the proceedings at the meetings of the Tongue record several admissions to the Alberge of the Tongue in Malta, and the precautions taken in reference thereto, with regard to proofs of nobility.—We read under the 13th of July 1531 : « At the tonge holden the xiiith day of July A^{0}. 1531, by lysens of the most revent lord m. ffr.

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(1) Vol. 447 f. 316:—vol. 1139 f. 72. Arch. P.R.M.

(2) Vol. Genl. Chapter of 1532 De receptione fratrum 2. f. 65. « Et quia Rdus. Prior Angliae, quos in caplo. suo provinciali aliorumque relatione nobiles approbavit, solitus est non omisa simul certa nobilitatis probatione ad habitum et ordinem militarem suscipiendum huc ad nos trasmittere Nominatim edicimus:—*Ne quis in venda. nra. Angliae lingua de coetero recipiatur nisi is*, ut alii aliarum Provinciarum solent, *autentica suae nobilitatis instrumenta protulerit* ».

Quod si Prior forte sine talibus quempiam in conventum nostrum miserit itineris sumptus et viaticum de suis facultatibus huic risarciat.»

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Philip Villers lysleadam sir John suttɔn knyght commander of Beverley and templebrewer than beinge levetenente Turcoplyer reteyned NYCHOLAS UPTON and PHILLIP BABYNGETON to be of this noble religion, of one passage, by th' assent and consent of all the Commanders and knights of the Inglysshe Nacion than beinge residente in the Convent, and that the said Phillip shall bringe in his p. vas w^{t} in the space ii yeres» (1).

The clause «of one passage» implied that they were not to claim precedence of reception between them, and that, therefore, in competing for the commanderies of their Tongue, none of them could claim priority of admission into the Order over the other. It appears that Knights who had been received at one and the same time, and were «of one passage,» made reciprocal conventions and concessions by which one of them would be able, without the opposition of the other, to take precedence over him. A document of this kind, in the deeds of Notary Bartolomeo Selvaggi de Via, of the 23rd February 1534, refers to Sir J. Babington and Sir Antony Rogiers and another of the 27th February following refers to the said Babington and to Sir William Tyrrell (2).

The simultaneous admission of Nicholas Upton and Phillip Babington and the latter's delay in presenting his proofs in due form, brought both before the Council of the Order, on the 18th of February 1534, to have their precedence determined. On the 9th May following Sir Henry Gerard likewise opposed Babington's admission of his proofs of nobility on the ground that these had been produced after the prescribed term had elapsed. The Council held that Babington's proofs «in forma publica et abundantiori quam olim in veneranda lingua Angliae fieri consuevissent admitti et recipi debere,» pointing out at the same time that the said Phillip Babington had been admitted, and had received the habit, before the holding of the General Chapter

(1) Ms. 955. f. 14t. M. P. L.
(2) See Rolls of the said notary at the Notarial Archives, Malta.

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which had laid down the new rule as to the time allowed for production of the proofs of nobility in Malta, and that, therefore, this rule could not affect him (1).

Sir Henry Gerard was received in the Alberge at Malta on the 12th of February 1532. His admission is registered in the following terms: «Md. att the townge... did present them sellff byffor fr John soutton lyftenant turcoplier and all the hole townge John marshall and harry gerard which demanded ffor to by resayved or amytted of this nobyll relygion off sent Johns Jerusalem and to by amytted off our townge all the holle townge has amytted them acordyng after the letters att they did present ffrom my lord off sent Johns thatt ys to understond that John marshall and harry gerard and Wyllyam asseyw (Hussey?) war amyted by ffor my lord off sent John att the shapt (*) provincial» (2).

They did not omit to make it clear, however, that the said admission, and that of others who had been received by the Grand Prior of England, and who might arrive within the next six months, *«for to by all of one passage»* (3)

Up to this this time the Tongue evidently found no difficulty in getting recruits. Sir Donston Newdegate was received in the Alberge on the 28th of January 1533 and Sir David Gonson on the 20th October following. Their proofs of nobility were *«admyted and alowed for good»* (4).

(*) Chapter.

(1) Vol. 85 f. 114. P. R. M.

(2) Ms. 455 f. 44 on the 2nd page, M. P. L.

(3).... that aftr. any off this iii coying to the convent to by resayved aftr. the ffyrst day of ther res eption any other of owr nation amyted by lord of sent Johns coyng to the religion within vi mounghts aftr. the reception off the fyrst at ys resaywed ffor to by all off one passage—yn wytnes hyre off ...» ibidem f. 44t.

(4) Ms. 955 f. 62 and ff. 1 and 18. The minutes of the meeting held for the admission of D.Newdgate are signed by the following 17 Knights present at the same: Clement West, Roger Boydel, Edward Belyngem, Cuthbert Layton, Antony Rogers, Richard Broke, William Tyrell, Henry Pole, Oswald Massyngberd, John Babyngton, James Hussy, Thomas Candyssh (Cavendish?) T.Thornehull, Antony Bentham, Nichlas Upton, Philip Babington, Henry Gerard.

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The admission of Sir Nicholas Lambert is entered under the 13th April 1534, and on the 1st of February 1535 his proofs were found and held good (1).

Sir Antony Russell entered the Alberge of Malta on the 28th of December 1535, having produced his proofs before the Lord of St. John in England. The Tongue on the 8th March 1537 held those proofs to be good on the certificates of Dr. Mabylstone «and other credybyll persons» (2).

We have an istance of the exclusiveness of the Tongue or of a possible objection to the admission of intruders or of undesirable subjects, in the great opposition that was raised by the English Knights against the proof of the Nobleman Thomas Guarion or «Vareng» as being untruthful and not real (probationes factae subreptitie et ad falsas informationes); adducing also against him his weak health and bad character (est valetudinarius et malis moribus.)

The Council, on the 24th September 1535 having considered all the circumstances, retained Guarion as if he had been admitted into the Order, on condition that he

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At the meeting held on the 20th Oct. following on which Davy Gonson was admitted only ten Knights were present. Sir John Chamber Kt. and nine of the above.

At the approval of Sir David Gonson's proofs of nobility 13 Knights took part at the proceedings on the 24th May 1535. The names of Gyles Russel, Thomas Dyngley, Nicholas Lambert and Donstone Newdegate are amongst them. Sir David Gonson does not appear as he was precluded to attend a meeting where his proofs were being discussed.

(1) Ms. 955. f. 17 «Md. that at a tonge holden the first day of Febr. by the license of the lord mr. in ano. Dni. 1535 then beang lyftenant twrcoplyer fr. giles Russell—Sir Nicolas lambert presented his proves which wer affirmyd and alowed by the holle tonge for good. Ita est f. gyles Russell (Kt.)—Richard Broke Kt.—fr. Henry poole—Tomas Thornehull—fr. phylyp babyngton—Sir David gonson Kt.»

(2) Ms. 956 f. 19. «The VIII day off march 1536 ab incarnasione the tong havyng sartyffycat by letters offl doctor mabylstone and other credybyll parsons y ye proves off fr. antony rossyll, above vryttyn and amytyd has lawfull before the lord off sanct Jons at a sembly in Ingland werfore the hole tong here beyng present at the request hath amytyd and acseptyd for good....»

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should supply new proofs of nobility within two years. The Tongue, however, would not give in, for, on the 10th of April 1537, Sir John Babington and others insisted, before the Grand Master and Council, that this nobleman should not be considered as having ever been admitted as a Knight (1).

It was not sufficient that the aspirant knight should be possessed of the requisite nobility of birth, he had also to prove it in the customary way prescribed by the statutes and bye laws of the Order. JOHN RAWSON, brother to the Prior of Ireland of the same name, admitted together with CUTBERT LAYTON, on the 23rd January 1527, had his proofs rejected, on the 16th October 1528, for want of their authentication:— « *f. thomas rawson presented his proves the which the said tong thowght not formeable according to*

(1) No record is entered of the Tonge's opposition on its extant minute book, but on the Council register at the above mentioned dates there is the following entry:

« Super differentia vertente inter nobilem Thomam guarion petentem habitum religionis ac recipi in veneranda lingua Angliae cum presentaverit probationes suae nobilitatis quae nullo modo reprobari possunt cum sint valide ex una— et procuratores dictae venerandae linguae contradicentes et alligantes quod dictae probationes factae fuerunt subseptitie et ad falsas informationes et quod etiam ipse Thomas est valetudinarius et malis moribus, et ideo requirentes quod recipi non debeat p.tibus ex altera — Rmus. D. m. m. et v. c. auditis partibus et earum rationibus mature examinatis ac insuper habita relatione commissariorum super id ad audiendum et referendum deputatorum—cum scrutinio ballotarum nemine discrepante decreverunt quod dictus Thomas guarion, etiam sine habitu, gaudeat ex hac die omni prerogativa antiquitatis et tabula consueta ac si receptus esset in lingua dummodo tamen in termino duorum annorum denuo probet suam nobilitatem juxta formam stabilimentorum.—Eadem die lecta et publicata supra scripta sententia procuratores venerandae linguae Angliae ab ea appellarunt ad consilium completum. » — Lib. Conc. ann. 1535-43 vol. 86 f. 3 Archives P. R. M.

« Die X Aprilis 1537 super pretensione fris. Johannis babington et quorundam aliorum quod nobilis Thomas Vareng haberi per recepto non debeat Rdus. D. L. and C. commiserunt dd. fribus don hieronymo Caraffa et nicolao de villegagnon ut se informent, partes audiant, testes si opus examinent et referant.» Vol. 85. Liber. Concil. an. 1537. f. 47. P.R.M.

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the stablishements, wherfore it was agreed by hole tong that the said f. thomas rawson bryng his proves atentikly accordyng to the said custom and stablishements of o.r religion wt. in the space of xviii *montes next immediately folowing the dathe herof* ».—He accordingly had them reproduced on the 22nd February following, and they «*were accepted for good and accordyng to the custom and stablishement of the religion* » (1).

Sir William Salisbury and Sir John Forset were admitted by the Tongue at Malta on 8th March 1537 (2).

Sir Alexander Dundas of Scotland was similarly admitted on the 11th. March 1538, his proofs of nobility, certified by notarial deed, having been examined by Sir Walter Lyndsey, commander of Torphychen, and by the Grand Prior of England (3).

The relative minute in the Tongue's register runs as follows: «Anno 1538 the 11th of marche. Md. the daye and yere above sayde the townge and nascion of yngland was holden by the lisence of my lord mr. fra John de vyliers de &c. in presence of f. clement weste torcoplier for the reseption of fr. alexander dondas scottesheman at whiche tyme presented letters proved by notary as well from fr. water lyndsey comander of trefychen in scotland as from the lord

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(1) Ms. 955 f. 41 M.P.L.

(2) Ms. 955 f. 20.

(3) ibid. f. 107. Lyndsay had obtained the Torphychen commandery on the 5th. March 1533. *ibi* f. 104. «At assemble holden the v^th^ of March 1533 by the lysence of o^r^ lord m.ffra phileppo villers lysleadam in the p sence of Sir Roger Boydell Turcoplyer and all the hole tonge hathe geven unto f Walter Lyndesey y^e^ com.^dry^ of Torfyghen in Scotteland w^t^ all the members spirituall and temporall perteynige unto the same comandry Torphechen and to wittenes of the trouth all the hole tonge have sett unde written their names the day and yere aforsaid.—f. roger boydel torcplyar—Cuthbert layton—f. henry poolle—f. Wylliam tyrell—f. rychard broke—Antony rogers—f. edwade belyngem—f. John babyngton Kt.—f. Antony bentham—f. Jhamys huessy (?)—fr. Thomas Thornehull—fr. Nychys upton—fr. phylype babyngton—f. harry gerard—f. Wylliam askuglt—f. donstan Newdegatte.»

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of saynt Johns in yngland in all condissions and qualities as he owght to be, upon whiche, heryng his lefull petyson and demand the helle townge then congregat accepted the sayd alexander to be of the nasyon receyvid, as with all privelegis passage and magis, but never to ask a comandry wether of grace nor chevishment nor melyorment, wether dygnite wt.in yngland or yerland but only the comandry of trefychen in scotland wher unto the sayde alexander hathe consented and bunde and wrytten his name the daye and yere above sayde and at this present he hathe payd hys pese money—vi. crowns. — f. alexr. dundas wt. my hand» (1)

Sir Walter Lyndsay and Sir John Chamber,—the latter had distinguished himself at the siege of Rhodes,—(2) had bound themselves to, and signed on the 29th. December 1525, the above condition imposed on Scottish Knights (3).

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(1) Ms. 955. f. 107 M P.L.

(2) L.B an. 1531-34 vol. 415 f. 164t. P.R.M.

(3) 1525—Be it known that att asemble holden in Viterbo the xxix daye of december by licence of the levetenant m. fr. barnardyne de rasske prior of lombardie, and in precense of fr. william weston turcoplier and alle th englysh nascion beyng there present, was receyved fr. Walter lyndesey and fr. John chamber scotchemen, beyng both of one passage, savyng only that fr walter. shal be annctient aud chevissh of the comandry of Trypheken in scotland beffore the said fr. John chamber, w.tout any let impedement of the said fr John or his assynes and the said f. Walter beyng proffessed and enjoye the seyd comandry by chevessement or any tyme after the decease of the rd. comander now beyng fr george dondas, shalle gyve to the seid fr. John chamber a hundred docatts of golde yerly during their ii. lyves or to his assignes, In wittanes of the thewthe the parties afforseid have here bute consented and putte their names the daye and yere aboreseid. And werov the seid fr Walter and f. John lynde them sellffe by thise said consente, never to ask nor demande wether comandrye nor dygnite in the priorathe of england nor yrlande nor parteynyng to the same, but only to the chevysh uppon the said comandrye in Scottland. In wittness wherof they have here bute sette their hands ut supr.—Walter lindesay wt. my hand—John chamber hd.

And on its margin page the following:

«Wretin of bailli—Mm. the xxv daye of January anno 1528 by

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At the time when these these conventions with the Scotch and Irish were being concluded no deficiency of English Knights made itself felt. Fourteen candidates were received at a time by the Provincial Chapter in England and admitted by the tongue on the 3rd October 1524 viz: William Draycotte—Blase Wybler—Roland Whytt—Edmond Hussay—Robert Dalysson—James Babyngton—Thomas Barnaby—Ambrose Cave—Thomas Lyee—George Edwards—Edward Browne—Thomas Hawson—Thomas Capeldyk (1). On the 22nd July 1528 fifteen more were admitted into the tonge as the following minute showeth. « Md. by the licens of my lord levetenant m. fa. barnardyne de hyraske prior of lombardie the XXIII daye of July anno 1528 in presens of m. levetenant torcoplier f. edward roche and alle the hole tong were receyved of one passage these gentilmen following —sir richard salford kt.—sir robert blesby—sir phelip carew—sir william tirrel—sir richard brooke—sir silvester nidegat—sir henry poole—sir John babyngton—sir thomas newton—sir oswold mesyngberd—sir anthony rogers—sir huge crosts—sir xp.ofer grantam—sir roger thyngylton—iohn theyny—alle the said gentilmen wt. one wyx, nemine discrepante, condescended and agreed betwyn them byfore my lord of sent Johns at assemble in yngland that they all shal be of one passage comyng to the religion wt.in vi monthes after the arryvalle of the first of them into the convent at nissa. Also the said gentilmen be contented and agreed that the said John babyngton comyng to the convent wt.in XVI monthes after the date above said shal be of the passage afforseid thoghd the seid gentilmen have taken the habit byffore hym. In wytness whereof the said gentilmen being present her unto have subscrybed their names — f.

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licens of my lord livetennt m. fa. barnerdyne de raske pr.or of lombardie, the tonge helden in presence of m. lieutenant turcoplier fr. edwarde roche c.m.der of temple bruer, and alle the hole tong to see the p.ves of f John chamber whiche were read in the same tong, accepted and allowed for good and lawffulle accordyng to the establishements.» Ms. 955 f. 103t. M.P.L.

(1) Ms. 955 f. 40. M.P.L.

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Edward roche leyftenent torcoplier—f. edmond husey cr.— f. thomas copueldpke kt.— f. ambrose cave kt. — f. Thomas Dyngley kt.—f. thomas hawson—f. sylvester newdegate—f. rychard salford—f. robert blesby kt. —f. thomas newton— f. oswold messyngberd k. — f. henry poll — f. wylliam tyrell kt. (1)».

Seven admissions are registered in the year 1529 in the still existing minute book above mentioned: Edmond Boydell (Jan. 2nd.) George Sunds, James Hussy, Thomas Thornehill (June 15th) Thomas Kandysh, Anthony Bentham (July 10th).

But symptoms of the changing times soon began to appear both in the paucity of candidates and in the difficulty of production of the requisite proofs. Sir James Sandilands of Caldar is admitted a Knight on the 30th December 1540, not by the Tongue, but by the Council, on a favourable report given by a commission appointed on the 22nd. December (2). It takes nearly five years for another candidate to come forward. This was Sir George Dudley, nicknamed «Sotton», who, on the 3rd. July 1545, is dispensed by the Council from exhibiting his proofs of nobility in due form, on account of the impossibility of drawing them up as required by the Order, owing to the grievous state of affairs then prevalent in England. The Council declared

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(1) Ms. 955 f. 42t. M.P.L.

(2) «Cum coram R^mo. D. Magno Mag.ro et v^do. Consilio facta fuisset relatio quemadmodum ob quasdam opiniones circa negocia Anglie, v^da. lingua Anglie noluerit recipere Jacobum sandilandis in fratrem militem, et in dicto consilio dati fuissent commissarii ut dictas probationes inspicerent R^mus. D. m. m. et v. c. habita relatione commissariorum predictorum asserentium dictas probationes esse bonas et validas iuxta formam stabilimentorum cum scrutinio ballatorum nemineque penitus discrepante indicaverunt et declaraverunt dictum Jacobum talem esse qualem dicta stabilimenta pro fratre milite requirunt, ordinaveruntque ut eidem detur habitus et sit de v^da. lingua Anglie iuxta antiquam consuetudinem et ut dictae probationes nobilitatis ponantur penes acta et scripturas Cancelleriae.» Lib. Conc. ann. 1535-43 f. 104. P. R. M.

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themselves satisfied with the attestations furnished by the Cardinal of England (Card. Reginald Pole) and by others (1).

Another SANDILANDS, SIR JOHN JAMES, on the 8th January 1554, is received as Knight in the Tongue, with the *limitations* previously made at the reception of Scottish gentlemen as to the acquirement of commandaries. «We have reseved knight of thys religion owar welbeloved brother ser Jhames Sandilandis, as other jentlemen of Scotland has bin ressevid befor», and the Grand Master and Council grant him, on the 11th May 1555, the grace of those years of residence prescribed to entitle Knights to a commandery. It is somewhat invidious to find his namesake—the Commr. Sir James Sandilands—rising to oppose (on 8th October 1557) his proofs of nobility and his admission on the plea that it would have been impossible for him to prove his nobility according to the Statutes. The Council, on the 29th November, remitted the Commander to enter his oppositions before the Prior of the Temple of Paris, where young John

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(1) «Memorandum at a tong holdyn by the lysanse off my lord master fra iohan homedes than bying lvetenant torcopulere fra hoseald massyngberd for to resave off o^r^ tonge mast^r^ jerge dodla all.s sotton by the hole tonge by holle assent admytted hym to the lord mast^r^ & cownsyll ,were has the sayd levetenant made relason, upon the which relason. my lord mast^r^ & the cownsyll gave consent as here follows.» Die 3° mensis jullio 1545. «Audita requisitione facta pro parte nobilis georgii Dudley dicti sotum, R^mus.^ Dñs M. M. et C. attendentes quod etsi nullus in aliqua lingua recipi debeat nisi suae nobilitatis prius auctentica instrumenta protulerit, tamen quia hoc non solum difficile sed impossibile dicto nobili foret, et quia R^mus^ Dñs card^lis.^ anglie tum propria tum aliorum relatione illum nobilem approbat et asserit—eundem georgium dudley pro fratre milite receperunt seu recipi in lingua anglie voluerunt cum tabula et soldea que militibus aliarum linguarum dari consuevit.» (*See* Lib. Conc. an. 1547-8 v. 87 f. 35. P. R. M.)—ex lib. consiliorum f. m. roias. d. portar° viscansallerus.—In wytnis of the truth mastr levtenant torcopulr. wt. all the hole tong hath subscrybyd thyrt names the 8 day off iulli 1545.—The lefftenant torcqoliar ser oswald messingbend—ser mycolls upton.—Ms. 955. f. 20^t^.

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James was ordered to produce his proofs within one year's time (1).

The Council, on 29th March 1558, admitted EDMUND ELUYN to be a Knight of this Tongue. In the same year is registered in the minutes of the proceedings of the Tongue, under the 9th of August 1558, the reception of Sir JAMES SCHELLEY, brother of Sir Richard, Turcopilier and afterwards Grand Prior of England (2).

After eleven years there is a new comer in the person of the Scotchman JAMES IRVINGS whose reception by the Council, on the 15th of November 1569, deserves notice for the reaffirmation of the custom that Scotchmen in the Tongue of England should only aspire to the enjoyment of property in Scotland (3).

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(1) vol. 89 f. 126 and 129. P. R. M. It seems that even in former times the admission of English Knights was not exclusively reserved to the judgment of the Tongue. On the 18. April 1416 the Prior of the church of Rhodes was commissioned by the Grand Master and Council to receive «in frate militi» William Loutham Donnalled «dum tamen nobili...et non aliter et secundum stabilimenta» Lib. Boll. ann. 1416-17 vol. 340 f. 115. P.R.M.

(2) vol. 90 f. 2. P. R. M; Ms. 955 f. 47. P.L.— «M^d: att a tonge holdden y^e· IX day off august 1558 by lysense of the lord great m^r frar John de valeta was recyved off y^e present tounge off yngland brother and knight fr James shelley—In wyttnes off y^e truthe the tounge beying than present hathe subscrybyed their names—fr Henry Jerard—fr George Dudley – fr Ja. Jo. Sandelandis.

(3) Lib. Conc. ann. 1567-70 vol. 92 f. 177 P. R. M.—«Super differentia vertente inter D. f. Jacobum Irvingum scotum petente se libere simpliciter et sine aliquo pacto vel conditione recipi et admitti sub gradu et numero fratrum militum in ven^a lingua Angliae cum sit talis qualem statuta postulant et requirunt ex una, et ven^m D. frem Oliverium starcheium baiulivum aquilae seu eius procuratorem contradicentem et allegantem consuetudinem antiquam esse inveteratam ipsius linguae fuisse et esse omnes scotos in receptione seu ante receptionem profiteri et obligari debere non petere consequi vel habere dignitatis commendas aut beneficia in limitibus Angliae et Hiberniae sita et constituta producendo super id varia documenta et scripturas tam ex libris cancelleriae quam libro dictae v.^dae lingue Angliae, que consuetudo pro lege habetur, partibus ex altera, replicante dicto Dño.

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Gaps in the records of admissions grow ever wider and wider, and the candidates, in the absence of the necessary quorum of members of the Tongue, are now only admitted or rejected by the Grand Master in Council. It was thus that the Irish nobleman ANDREW WYSSE was allowed to join, on the 7th May 1582 (1).

Finally the demand of DANIEL CLANSY for admission without the production of the usual proofs of nobility, brought about a decision, on 22nd. June 1598, to the effect that no such demands should henceforth be received by the Order (2).

THOMAS TALBOT, on the 16th January 1614, more than fifteen years after, was rejected, ostensibly on the grouud of this precedent, of not granting exemptions from proofs of nobility. It seems more likely, however, that the want of

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de Jrvingo obligationem praetensam Dominorum scotorum factam Viterbii anno 1525 non debere contra ipsum in consequentiam trahi, quae est talis ut alios comprendere non possit, et facta contra bonos mores, consuetudinesque ipsam esse illicitam atque invalidam neque leg.me probatam imo interruptam receptione fris. Jacobi Sandelandis Scoti anno 1540, qui neque in libris Cancelleriae neque lingue eiusdem ullatenus obligatus invenitur. Consuetudo enim annorum quindecim antiqua dici non potest, quo vero ad librum lingue fidem minime adhiberi cum semper in manibus partis adversae steterit, producendo etiam in sui favorem Bullam fel. rec. Antonii fluviani datam xxii mensis Julii 1437 et alias rationes reprobandi causa dictum librum. Quibus auditis et litigantium rationibus bene discussis et consideratis R^mus D. Magnus Magister et ven.^m Concilium habita relatione Commissariorum super id ad audiendum et referendum deputatorum, cum scrutinio ballotarum nemine discrepante indicaverunt et sententiaverunt dictum frem Jacobum recipi et admitti debere in eadem lingua iuxta antiquam consuetudinem eiusdem, quae quidem consuetudo suo loco et tempore discutietur et declarabitur.»

Die XXI mensis Novembris MDLXIX. ven. D. fr. Oliverius starkeius Baiulivus Aquilae sentiens se gravatum a sententia lata die XV p.ntis mensis per ven^m Conc^m ordinarium in favorem Dñi Jacobi Jrvinghi scoti appellavit et appellat ad venerandum Concilium Completum.

(1) vol. 441 f. 195 and vol. 444 f. 200.

(2) Lib. Conc. an. 1598-600 f. 32, 39, 67, Lib. Bul. an. 1598 f. 267; vol. 6400 f. 441. Arch. P.R.M.

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means of the Tongue to maintain its members, had more to do with this decision (1).

A futile attempt to prevent the total extinction of the Tongue is made on 21st February 1639, when Sir NICHOLAS FORTESCUE is admitted with the object of re-establishing the Tongue, it having been decided that the Knights of the Tongue serving in the Convent should have table and clothing allowances (soldea) like the others and should be distributed for their board between the Grand Master's Palace and the Auberges (2). This must have been a far from heavy burthen, as we learn from the Inquisitor, Monsignor O. Visconti, that there were only *two Knights* of the Tongue in Malta, at his time, that is between 1625 and 1627!

Curiously enough the priest CORNELIUS CROWLIS, of Clogher in Ireland, is received, on the 3rd. October 1638, and granted the commandery of «Moore» or «de Mona» in the Diocese of Cloyne, on payment of an annual recognition of one shilling and eight pence (a maltese scudo) (3). We are not told, however, whether the commandery mentioned could be got at or not.

Now that the «Ven. Tongue of England» with all its former splendour was irretrievably lost, it seemed as if the Order and individuals still clinging to the old noble ideals, found delight, the one in bestowing and the others in receiving honorary distinctions reminiscent of the ancient dignities of the Tongue. Thus HENRY FITZ-JAMES, a natural son of the then reigning James II and brother of the Duke of Berwick, on his arrival in Malta is, on 5th December 1687, decorated with the cross; and in 1689, at the request of James II, this same Fitz-James is made *Prior of England* (4).

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(1) L. C. an. 1613-10. vol. 105 f. 25 Arch. P.R.M.

(2) vol. 468 f. 169, Arch. P.R.M.

(3) vol. 111 f. 190[t] P.R.M.

(4) James had expressed his wish in July to the Grand Master by the following letters:—

Mon Cousin, nous sommes si persuadés de Vostre Zele pour la Religion Catholique, que nous ne pouvons douter que vous n'em-

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At the instance of the same dispossessed sovereign and of his son James, the cross was also bestowed on several persons, amongst whom, is Sir NICHOLAS GERARDIN

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brassiez avec joye toutes les occasions qui se presenteront pour le faire éclatter, et comme nous avons une satisfaction particuliere a' seconder vos bonnes intentions dans des desseins si loüables, nous avons resolu de c'edier a' l'Ordre des Ch valiers de Malte Henry Fitz-james notre filz naturel, qui vous est deja fort connû, et qui lors qu'il estoit à Malte ressentit les effects de Vos bontez et de Vos civilités, dont nous vous remercions; quoy que jeune il ne manque pas d'experience, car il a' desja este' en Mer, et en Course prés de deux ans contre les Infidels; C'est pourquoy quand vous aurez receu le bref de Sa Saintete' que nous l avons prie' de Vous addresser sur ce sujet nous esperons de votre bonte', que vous voudrez bien luy donner la dignite' de Grand Prieur d'Angleterre, le faisant enregistrer selon les formes en cette qualite', et comme nous ne doutons point que Vous ne nous accordiez cette faveur, nous Vous promettons aussy tout ayde et assistance en ce qui nous sera possible pour la gloire et pour les avantages d'un Ordre si illustre et si utile au service de Dieu et a' la gloire de son Esglise. Dieu vous ait en sa Sainte garde. Donne' a' St. Germain en Laye ce 24e. fevrier 1689. Mon Cousin

Votre affectionne' Cousin

JACQUES R.

Address—Mon Cousin le grand-maistere des Ordres de St. Jean de Hierusalem a Malte

L: Wal:

The original letter is preserved in the volume «Diverse Scritture» Malta Archbishop's Archives.

Mon Cousin - Nous avous receu avec une satisfaction extraordinaire Votre obligeante lettre du 4e d'Avril dans la quelle outre l'estime et la bonté que Vous temoignez pour notre jeune Fitz James, nous observous avec plaisir la passion et le zele que Vous avez de nous servir et gratifier en ce rencontre cest pourquoy nous nous sentons obligez par touttes les raisons de justice aussybien que par notre inclination particuliere de Vous en marquer nos reconnoisance. Ce que nous faisons icy avec toutte la sincerité d'un coeur zelé pour le bien de la Religion, et particulierement pour la gloire de Votre Ordre illustre, qui en est un si puissant appuy, et a l'agrandissement du quel nous nous ferons toujours un plaisir singulier de contribuer dans toutes les occasions: Et afin que notre fils puisse etre un sujez digne de servir Dieu et la Sainte Eglise dans la Dignité que Vous Voulez bien luy accorder de *Grand Prieur d'Angleterre* nous ne luy laissons point perdre de temps, car actuellement il fait une campagne asser rude et dangereuse contre

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«of good Irish family» (1). Sir Nicholas, on the 9th August 1726, was «appointed» *Prior of England* (2). Another cross is given to JACQUES DENIS DILLON, son of the Lieutenant General of the Army of the King of France, «also of a noble Irish family.» Dillon, on account of his birth in France had been inscribed in one of the French Langues (3). The accidental birth of English nobles in other countries, rendered possible their admission to other priories of the Order. That accounts for the reception (22nd June 1722) in the Langue of Castile and Leon of PETER EMMANUEL a minor, son of the Duke of Berwick, James Francis Fitz-James Stuart. The Duke of Berwick's other son ANTONY BONAVENTURE, also a minor, was similarly inscribed in the rolls of the Langue of Castile (6th December 1725). This latter, however, having been subsequently married, remained in the Order as a mere *Knight of honour and devotion* (22nd October 1755) (4).

The Czar on one side and Pope Clement XI on the other,

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nos sujets rebelles qui sont en mesme temps tous ennemis de la Religion et a ce que rien n'y manque, le Bref que notre Saint Pere a eu la bonté de nous accorder sur ce sujet est envoyé. Au rest pour le succez de nos affaires nous nous recommandons aux prieres et aux voeux de tout votre Ordre, et prions aussy Dieu qu'il Vous ait en sa Sainte garde donné en notre Cour au Chateau de Dublin le 13me de juillet 1689 —Votre affectionné—Cousin Jacques R.—Ms. 929 f. 30. P.L.M.

(1) L. C. 1731-3 vol. 144 f. 153; vol. 1202 f. 217 Arch. P.R.M.

(2) L. C. 1731-3 vol. 144 f. 153 Arch. P.R.M.

(3) v. 1202 f. 271 P.R.M. Dillon not being of age, was admitted as a page, and James thanked the Grand Master for the favour granted and showed his further interest in this gentleman in his letters dated 19 Oct. and 21 Decr. 1724 and 23 May 1725, ibi ff. 275, 285, and 296.

(4) Liber Bullarum an. 1755 f. 177. P.R.M. The following is James's letter to Grand Master Pinto on the subject:—

Mon Cousin, *Milord Bonaventure Fitz james*, Frere de Duc de Berwick ayant pris le party de se marier, il ne scauroit par consequent continuer dans votre Ordre; Mais son respect et sa devotion pour la Religion luy font souhaiter d'avoir la permission d'en porter la Croix vous me ferez plaisir de lui accorder cette grace, que Je vous demande pour luy; me reservant de vous ecrire une autrefois au sujet du titre de Grand Prieur d'Angleterre, qui est a present vaquant, et

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ask Grand Master Perellos to admit a Count JAMES GEORGE GORDON, of Scotch descent, born in Russia; and Gordon is received as Knight of Justice on 29th April 1706. He returned to Malta, in June 1711, as envoy of the King of Poland, to treat on the subject of the lands of the Dukes of Ostrog, which formed, later on, the property of the Priory of Poland in the Anglo-Bavarian Tongue substituting that of England (1).

MAURICE FITZ GIBBON on the 1st January 1733 entered the Order as a *page* and was dispensed from giving proofs of nobility in view of the condition of his country (2).

The rolls of the times of Grand Master Rohan record (22nd February 1778) the names of the noblemen WILLIAM JERNINGHAM and CHARLES JERNINGHAM admitted as *Knights of honour and devotion* by Grand Master Pinto, the first on the 23rd October 1751, and the other on the 20th April 1761 (3), and refer to the difficulties encountered in the admission of a certain Scheldon, nephew of the Prince and Cardinal L.R.E. de Rohan-Guéménée Grand Almoner of France.

The cross of honour and devotion was similarly granted to a JEROME O'SULLIVAN, an Irishman, on the 19th September 1753 (4), to FRANCIS M. GERARDIN, on the 29th June 1754 (5), to LEONARD C. STUART DE TOCCO, on the 10th June 1780 (6), to General ACTON in 1784, to Count AUSTIN LAMBERT on 24th February 1790 (7) and to Count FRANCIS TENISON WATWORTH on 2nd December 1793 (8).

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vous priant d'etre bien persuadé des sentiments pliens d'estime, et d'amitie que Je conserve toujours pour vous. Sur ce Je prie Dieu qu'il vous ayt, Mon Cousin, en sa Sainte et digne garde. A Rome ce 10 7bre 1755. Vostre affectione Cousin—Jacques R.

Mr Le Grand Maistre de Malte.

(1) L. B. an. 1706 f. 107. P.R.M.
(2) L. B. an vol. 536 f. 123^{t} P.R.M.
(3) L. B. an. 1751 f. 201^{t} L. B. an. 1761 f. 179. P.R.M.
(4) L. B. an. vol. 551 ff. 171^{t} and 258^{t} P.R.M.
(5) L. B. an. 1754 vol. 552 f. 5.
(6) L. B. an. 1780 vol. 584 f. 138.
(7) Minutarium. L. Boll. an. 1790 vol. 607. P.R.M.
(8) Minut. L. B. 1793 vol. 615. P.R.M.

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Finally the names of several Englishmen occur in connection with their relations with this island after its abandonment by the Order and when the substitution of the Anglo-Bavarian Tongue to that of England had been accomplished.

PRIORIES AND COMMANDERIES OF THE TONGUE AND THEIR RESOURCES.

The number of candidates admitted was necessarily subordinated to the financial resources of the Tongue.

The accounts of the receipts of England for the years 1520 to 1526 and 1531 to 1537 with the responsions, shown in terms of a Magisterial bull given «in castro insulae melitae die undecima Novembris anni 1530», represent the actual condition of affairs during the last years of the real life of the Tongue. (1)

A statement of its resources in former times is to be found in the report of the Grand Prior Philip de Thame to Grand Master Elyan de Villanova in 1338, (2) and in a report forwarded by Thomas Larcher and the English Knights assembled at Mechlebourn to the same Gd. Master on the 20th July 1328 (3) published by L. B. Larking and J. M. Kemble in 1857. A rent value of several commanderies, showing a yearly income of 16,520 ducats, in the English Priorate in the XV and XVI Centuries, preserved in the Library is also of help. (4)

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(1) Ms. in M.P.L. No. 926 – formerly no. 57 in the P.R. Archives «Ricette d'Inghilterra dall'anno1520 sin al 1526 e dal 1531 sin al 1536.»

(2) Ms. in M.P.L. No. 954 (Arch. P.R. 2197) «Extenta terrarum et tenentorum Hospitalis Sti. Johannis Jerl.m in Anglia.» published under the title «The Knights Hospitallers in England,» London 1857.

(3) Parchment in Ms. 918. M.P.L. «computum de receptis solutis et expensis in do. Prioratu Anglie pr fr. Leonardum de Tibertis Priorem venet. et locumten. magistri quem in do. capitulo electum Priorem Angliae requirunt per magistrum confirmari.»

(4) Ms. 958 M. P.L.

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The visitation of monasteries and the inspection of ecclesiastical property ordered by Henry VIII in 1535 gave a «valor ecclesiasticus» which was made public by royal command in 1810. From this document the value of the Priory and Commanderies, taken five years previous to their incorporation with the royal domain, may be reconstructed. (1)

For present purposes the following details are deemed sufficient to convey an idea of what utility they were to the corporation in general and to the invested commander in particular. The importance of hospitality exercised by the Tongue in England may be conjuctered from the incomes and outlays of the Priories and Commanderies.

The principal and most important seat of the Tongue in England was at Clerkenwell, a suburb of London, (2) the residence of the Grand Prior. The buildings re-erected after the destruction caused by Wat Tyler's outbreak of 1381, and finished in 1504, covered with their gardens a space of full five acres and extended from the site of the present gate-house down to the river of Wells. Mention of the various blocks included in the property is recorded in Viscount John Leslie's request to purchase Clerkenwell, granted to him in 1547. The principal edifice is described as covered with lead. To the

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(1) In the General Chapter of the Order held at Montpellier 24 October 1330 the following rule with reference to the valuations of Priories and Commanderies was enacted :

" Recordia—Item recorde est et comandé en chapitre genal que chascun preur ou bailly fait pour chapitre general doie faire ii. registres de la valué de toutes les baillies de tout son preuré tant du chief comme des mémbres chascune per soi—des quels registres doient mander l'un outre-mer au maistre et au convent, et l'autre doie demorer et garder en leurs prieures." Vol. 280 Capitula Generalia 1330-44 f. 12 P.R.M.

(2) «Clerkenwell, in Suburbio London.—Est ibidem capitale manerium totius Prioratus Angliae.» Thame's Report.

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GRAND PRIOR SIR THOMAS DOCWRA

(From Finchams' Order of St. John)

gate-house, were attached three gardens and an orchard with a fishpond to the east and north. The sub-Prior's lodgings with gardens, the Turcopilier's house and garden, the great and little courts, the wood-house and yard, the slaughter house, the plumbers house, the laundry, the counting-house formed part of these buildings. The Turcopilier's right of residence and exercise of his particular powers in the house that bore his name were recognised and re-asserted by the General Chapter of February 8, 1514, and the Lord Prior Thomas Docwra was ordered to cease all oppositions thereto. (1) The church with its superb bell-tower was a glory of the north-west of London before the Protector Somerset caused it to be undermined and blown up in 1548 so as to use its materials in building Somerset House. The gothic crypt and the wrecked chancel still survive to indicate how beautiful the mansion had been. Queen Elizabeth conferred the Priory on her Master of the Revels; and the Clerkenwell Great Hall, hitherto the scene of many royal conferences and noble gatherings became for a while a theatre for «Stage Plays and Comic Shows.» (2)

This residence together with the benefices or commanderies called «cameræ» of Clerkenwell, Temple Cressing, Sampford and Balfall constituted the prioral appanage, to which was annexed, as was the case with all other Grand Priories, a fifth "camera" or benefice—the commandery of Melchebourn in Bedfordshire, which seems to have been the usual seat of the provincial chapters and assemblies of the Tongue of England. After the suppression of the Tongue, by Henry VIII, Melchebourn was granted to John Earl of Bedford in the 3rd. year of King Edward VI's reign.

Malthy and Skyrbek, Buckland, Hogshaw (Bucks), Greenham (Berks) and Poling (Sussex), once distinct preceptories of the Order, formed also part of the Clerkenwell priory and appanage. Skyrbek originally containing a

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(1) L B. an. 1514 vol. 403 f. 162

(2) W. K. R. Bedford and R. Holbeche, London 1902; E M. Tenison, Chivalry and the Wounded—London 1914 p. 57.

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hospital dedicated to St. Leonard for ten poor persons, was afterwards called St. John's and endowed to maintain double that number and to grant relief to not less than forty at its gate. Skirbeck with Malthy formerly belonging to the Knight Templars, were granted in the 33rd. year of Henry VIII's reign to Charles Duke of Suffolk.

Buckland, distinct from the nuns' priory at the same place, was a residential commandery for a brother chaplain and five other chaplains and servants-at-arms whose office was principally to give spiritual and temporal assistance to the many sisters wearing the habit of the Hospitallers in the omonomous monastery and dispensing the charitable bequests and hospitality ordered by the donors of the lands. Buckland and Bothmescombe were given to the Grand Prior at Sir Roger English's death in 1433, in consequence of an agreement entered in a provincial assembly of the English Tongue, as compensation and in substitution for the visitation fees up to then paid by the commanderies to the Grand Prior. (1) Buckland with Halse gave a rent of £124.10, and Bothemscomb including Cowe £50.11 in Prior Thame's report.

The manor of Hampton Court with other lands, forming part of the Grand Prior's estate, were exchanged in 1532 with the monastery of Stanesgate and its dependencies, and the manor and lands at Franckford were exchanged with Kilburn Priory when the lesser monasteries were suppressed and Cardinal Wolseley founded Oxford College, afterwards named Christ College. (2) The deer park between Paddington and Hampstead received by the Prior with Kilburn retains to this day the name of St. John's Wood.

The land rents were not the only source of income of the Grand Prior. The yield of fisheries, sale of forest timber and cattle, court fees, annual voluntary contributions called

(1) L. B. an. 1433 vol. 350 f. P. R. M.

(2) L. B. ann. 1526-28 v. 412 f. 193 P. R. M.; Rymer Conventiones vol. XIV f. 197; and the author's L'Espulsione dei Gesuiti da Malta, Malta 1914. p. 31. Hampton Court had been previously given on long lease for 99 years by Prior John Kendal and the provincial chapter at £46 a year, but the Grand Master on the 14th August 1517 had ordered an axchange to be made. L. B. an. 1517. Vol. 406. f. 163. P.R.M.

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THE INSTITUTION OF THE ORDER

(From a painting at Versailles)

ST. JOHN'S PRIORY, CLERKENWELL — 1640

Copied from an old print by G. Spiteri

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collecta and *fraria*, tithes and other profits from the dependent rectories figure in Thame's report.

Temple-Church still surviving in Fleet-street, the principal seat of the Knights Templars in England, was a dependence of the Grand Prior. After the suppression of the Knight-Templars in 1309, it had been for some time in possession of the Earl of Pembroke and of Hugh Despenser junior until it was granted to the Knights Hospitallers (1). The mansion and its surroundings were leased by the latter to the students in common law, and the two societies of the Inner Temple and of the Middle Temple continued to be the tenants of the Hospitallers until the dissolution of the Order in 1539 (2).

The royal commissioners in 1535 valued the annual net rental of the Grand Prior—after deducting burthens to the amount of £205—at pounds sterling 2385. 19. 11, exclusive of the Clerkenwell buildings.

The burthens taken into account by the said commissioners include: £52 paid in alms to the poor, at the gates and within Clerkenwell, in terms of a bequest, at the rate of 20 shillings a week; £4. 4. 0 distributed among 13 poor persons at the supper of Maundy Thursday (3), and other sums in annual feudal payments for lands and in the services of chapels and chantries on the estate, exclusive of the church annexed to the Clerkenwell mansion, for which the Grand Prior in 1338 had to provide a prior, three brother chaplains, ten secular chaplains, one deacon and a sub-deacon.

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(1) Pope John XXII's original charter, 7. March 1317, against the English nobles who had taken possession of the Templars' lands is preserved in the Malta Library no. 3 in Ms. 878; and is reproduced by S. Pauli, Codice Diplomatico V. II no. XXXVI.

(2) Th. Tanner, Notitia Monastica, Cambridge 1787.

(3) The supper consisted "tam in pecuniis numeratis quam in esculentiis ac libatorum tam de panis laneo quam lineo et sotularum." *Valor Ecclesiasticus* vol. 1. fol. 406.

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The responsions or annual contributions to the Treasury of the Order to meet the expenses of the 'Convent' were taxed before 1533 at £329. 0. 3. (1) In 1536 this had to be reduced to £186. 12. 8 owing to decrease of income and to the new Government tax of one tenth part of the rent, as well as to the new laws abolishing privileged jurisdiction and the *collecta* and *fraria* established in force of royal and papal charters, which gave one tenth part of the revenue of the Priory. One of the objects for which responsions were paid was the maintenance of the members and candidates of the Tongue of England in Malta

But the main item of expenditure in Clerkenwell was the dispensing of hospitality, the Hospitallers' first duty. All comers were received and given shelter for themselves and their horses, and, when sick they had a claim to treatment in the infirmary. The proximity of Clerkenwell to London and Westminster necessarily rendered the burthens of hospitality heavier than was the case in other English Commenderies (2). The Pope had at one

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(1) The Grand Master Cardinal Peter Daubusson, at the General Chapter held in 1498, decided that the Grand Prior of England was not exempt, as it was pretended, from paying the relative share on his four camere and that he had no right to retain an annual pension of 630 scudi from the Treasury income to pay lawyers' fees (vol. 284. *Capitula Generalia* 1498-1504 fol. 9. P.R.M,) In 1466 the Grand Prior's share due to the Convent for five years was fixed at £ 793 over and above seven hundred canes of cloth, worth £ 200. (vol. 283 cap. gen. 1446-78 f. 30t.)

(2) Prior Thame's report enumerating several items of expenditure adds: "Et omnia ista onera predicta, et multa alia de quibus certa mentio fieri non potest, in supervenientibus causa hospitalitatis, et aliis de familia domini regis, et aliorum magnatum regni Anglie, ac etiam preceptorum, fratrum et eorum familie illuc venientibus pro negotiis in curia domini Regis, ibidem continue existentibus, et aliis rationibus in civitate London faciendis, moraturis apud clerkenwell, ad custagium preceptoris et domus, quousque de negotiis suis fuerint expediti."

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time to raise his voice and protect the English Hospitallers from those who abused their hospitality (1).

We learn that after Sir Thomas Sheffeld's death in Viterbo, on the 10th August 1524, the Bailiwick of EAGLE, in Lincolnshire,—a former commandery of the Knights

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(1) «Gregorius...ex parte vestra nob. est oblata querela qd. nonnulli cleri et laici ad ecclesias et domos vestras regni Anglie accedentes invitis etiam preceptoribus pa....et alia commestibilia que ibidem inveniunt pro sua recipiunt et dissipent voluntate propter quod interdum eis egenis et pauperibus subveniendi facultas adimunt.... Lugduni 10 kal. Novembris anno 3°.» Parchment in Ms. 887 P.L.M.

In this connection a « Concordia » or agreement established after Prior Robert Malory's death at Robert Boutil's· election to the Grand Priory and entered in L.B. an. 1439-40. Vol 354. p. 213., lays down the dues payable for board in Clerkenwell by Hospitallers from other Commanderies viz: each commander 3s. 4d. per week, besides 20 pence per week for each servant and 16 pence for each valet.

The Turcopilier paid for board 6s. 8d. per week and had right to lodge in the « *Turcopilier's side.* » Other commanders had right to lodgings in the part of the establishment called «*Cromwell's Pass.*»

« Item propter honorem et honestatem dicti religiosi, tricoplerius et omnes alii p.ceptores dicti prioratus anglie tempore adventus eorum ad civitatem london debent et tenentur cessante impedimento legitimo hospitari infra dictum prioratum santi Johannis prope eiusdem, infra domos et castra eiusdem prioratus, et qd. quilibet preceptor volens edificare ib.m intus locum vocatum Kronuals' pas et habebit terram ib.m competen. per priorem seu preceptorem de clerkenwell limitand. cum meremio competen. id edificandi in eamdem terram et ..... habebit ad eundum locum focalia racionabiliter... preceptoris sumptibus et expensis....

« Item qd. quilibet preceptor existens in dicto prioratu solvet qualibet septemana pro mensa sua iii. s. iiii. d. pro quolibet servente xxd.ed pro proquolibet valeto XVId.

« Item tercoplerius qui pro tempore fuerit habebit hospicium suum infra domum de clerkenwell videlicet in parte vocata tricoplerisside soluendo per septimanam p. mensa sua VIs. VIIId. p. servente et valeto ut superius recitatur et eciam stabulum pro uno equo cum feno stramine seu lec puo eodem.

For other details on Clerkenwell, established on the fourteen acres *Juxta Fontem Clericorum*, and which originally came to the Hospitallers about 1100, see Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire vol. I. No. 2 and vol. IV. (Paris 1906) pp. 321-27, 340, 348-49; 354.

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Templars, — yielded a rent of £ 129. 8, 8, besides £ 45. 16. 8 paid in support of the Knights in residence in Malta ("ad sustentationem militum et fratrum dictae religionis anglie nationis in Conventu") (1). At Sir John Babington's death (10. Jan: 1533) the income of the Bailwick and the responsions it paid, owing to the politico-religious movement then agitating the country had decreased. The Bailiff of Eagle, as was the case with many other Knight Commanders, possessed in his own right the advowson of several churches and rectories, among which were Swynderby and Eagle. When Brian de Grey was invested with this Commandery (22. Feb. 1385) the church of Darfeld was annexed to the preceptory (2), but later on it was transferred to the Commandery of Newlands.

Such churches and rectories yielded tithes and first-fruits to the commanders; at the same time Hospitallers enjoyed exemption of their lands and cattle from any similar burthens towards other ecclesiastical authorities. Popes had exempted the Hospitallers from such dues considering that they were always bound to keep horses for warlike purposes. Pope Alexander III ordered bishops not to collect from Hospitallers tithes due for "Novales", viz: for lands newly brought under cultivation and for forage to be consumed by their cattle (3).

These exemptions and privileges placed the lands and tenants of the Hospitallers in an enviable position. The tenants participated in these privileges to the extent of being exempted from the jurisdiction of any other court saving that of their masters, the Hospitallers, who were good landlords. Parliament had in consequence to intervene and prevent abuses committed by tenants who, without having the Order for their landlord, set crosses on their lands and houses to secure immunity from taxation (4).

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(1) Valor Eccles. vol. IV. f. 27 London 1821.
(2) vol. 323 L, B. 1385-86 f. 135t.
(3) De la Ville le Roulx, Cartulaire I. 428.
(4) Southey, Common-place Book vol. I., 464.

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Bailiwicks, and, generally, the establishment of each commandery, comprised besides the brethren, pensioners and persons receiving hospitality, a household consisting of a camerarius or butler, a claviger or steward, a janitor or gatekeeper, a cook, a baker, a woodreeve, squires, valets and horse-boys, a head stable-man, a brewer, a cellarer, a washerwoman, a swineherd, an oxherd, a shepherd and a carter, and pages and boys in attendance (1). All these dependants were likewise exempted from civil jurisdiction and subject to the Hospitaller Courts.

Bailwicks and all commanderies had their state furniture. The Bailiwick of Eagle had the further advantage of adding to its estate one third part of all goods and articles found in the Mansion at each bailiff's death, in virtue of a long standing custom. This also happened at Sir John Babington's death on 10. January 1533 (2).

In the «Valor Ecclesiasticus» the name of Malta, or rather, a name meant for it, is first met with in regard to the responsions of the commandery of NEWLAND. Such contribution to the Knights' Common Treasury is thus registered: "Denarium annuatim sol.um anglicanae nacioni religionis apud *Malpuis* nomine responsionis £ 88. 9. 6." Over and above such sum and other burthens to the amount of £ 129. 14., Newland yielded £ 202 net rent a year. Towards this income the rectory of Darfeld stands for £ 60. 13. 4, including £ 20 worth of wheat, £ 1. 6. 8 worth of hay, £ 3 worth of lambs and wool, £ 4 oblations and £ 12. 6. 8 other tithes; Killingston rectory gave £ 21 worth of wheat and hay, and Whitkirke £ 20. The Knight Commander had to pay for the chaplains in Newland and in Stede and for a vicar in Darfeld yearly pensions of £ 5. 6. 8 and £ 14. 13. 4.

In the Commandery of MOUNT St. JOHN (North Riding of Yorkshire) £ 47. 1. 2 a year is said to be paid to Headquarters for the defence of the Faith—

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(1) J. M. Kemble's introduction to Prior Thame's report of 1338 p. xxxi.

(2) See, Babington's Spoils in Appendix II.

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"Responsio annualis soluta religioni pro defensionem fidei"; and among its other burthens are included alms to the poor and to pilgrims, consisting in soup and coppers. Its net rent is put down at £ 102. When first established the Commandery was meant to maintain five brothers. It was afterwards granted in exchange to the Archbishop of York (34. Henry VIII.) and the Commandery of Newland to F. Jobson and Andrew Dudley (36. Hen. VIII).

The Commandery of Beverly in Yorkshire held by J. Sutton in succession to Sir Thomas Sheffield (dead 10. Aug. 1524 at Viterbo), paid in 1531 £ 72. 0. 5 for its responsions besides drawing a net rent of £ 164. 9. 11 from its estate.

Ribstone and Wetherby (Yorkshire), previously belonging to the Knight-Templars, were taxed, up to 1535, at the rate of £ 14.9 towards the Malta Treasury and the Commander was charged with other burthens to the amount of £ 103 15.0. The net income of Ribstone was of £ 257.9.7. The Commandery afterwards passed into the hands of Charles Duke of Suffolk by grant of Henry VIII.

Shingay a commandery in Canterbury giving with its dependencies a net revenue of £ 175.4.6, was held in 1531 by the Knight Commander Edward Hill, and paid to the Knights's Treasury in Malta the annual sum of £ 74.7.8. One item of expenditure included in the balance-sheet of 1338 discloses the former patron of the church of Shingay, (the abbot of Sees), who was in receipt of an annual fee of 20 shillings. Another item shows that the vicar of that church had a seat, daily, at the table of the Knight Commander or preceptor «stat ad mensam preceptoris.» A Chaplain's table maintenance is reckoned by J. M. Kemble to have been at the time equivalent to 40 shillings a year, and the yearly allowance for a Hospitaller's dress about £ 1. 14. 8. (1). Prior Thame's report on Shingay permits us to note that while its commander was a Servant-at-arms he had in his commandery and at his table two other brethren belonging to different

(1) The Knights Hospitallers in England, p. XXXII and XXXIII.

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classes of the Corporation, viz. a Knight and a Chaplain. (1)

The Commandery of SWYNFIELD (Kent) yielded a revenue of £ 104 over and above the sum of £ 41. 16. 0 for responsions, in respect of the knights and members "nationis regni Anglie in Conventu religionis continue exist. et residentes", as reported in the "Valor Ecclesiasticus".

TEMPLECOMBE (Somerset) according to the valuation made by John Hussey for its Commander, Sir Edmund Hussey, in 1535 yielded a revenue of £ 120. 10. 3 exclusive of £ 50. 1. 8 passed to Headquarters as annual contribution. (2) The accounts of the Treasury for the Tongue of England, kept in respect of this commandery by the Commander Sir John Babington, refer to further sources of profit to the general funds of the Corporation deriving from that Tongue, namely to the *spoils* of deceased professed knights. The *spoils* were the produce of the sale of the effects of knights at their death, exclusive of one fifth part of their estate of which they generally obtained permission to dispose.

From the *spoils* of Sir Lancellot Dowcra, Commander of Temple-combe, who died on May 4th., 1520, the Treasury derived a profit of over £ 400; and other sums and silver plate were received from the *spoils* of Sir Nicholas Fairfax, who had succeeded Docwra in the same preceptory and died at Rome on the 19. April 1523. The Earl of Northumberland, a relative of Fairfax, handed over £ 70 for rent due to the Treasury as spoils and *mortuary* tax on the said Commandery, (3) that is, rent due from the death of the

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(1) The right of Visum franci plegii and other privileges and immunities dependent from it were admitted by the Crown, on contestation, in favor of Shengay, and Chippenham in 1299. Delaville, Cartulaire No. 4437.

(2) "quaedam perpetua pensio soluta juniòribus militibus vulgariter vocata *Les responcions*—per annum £ 50." *Valor Eccles.* vol. I f.202.

(3) "... per il primo anno di detta comanderia in vita di detto fra nicolao forfax per uno anno integro finito a la festa di San Joha bapta 1522... C. st.—Et piu a receputto dal Sor. Conte de northumberland suo parente in contanti aveva pagti in vita de detto fra nicolao per mano di fran.co Bell—£ LXX. st." Ms. 926 M. P. L.

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possessor for the remaining part of the financial year ending on the 24th. June (feast of St. John the Baptist). The *mortuary* tax was first established in 1343 as a fund for the maintenance of the galleys kept by the Order to protect the seas against the Turks in the Levant(1). Templecombe, after Docwra's and Farfax's deaths, also yielded a further year's rent to the Treasury. This perquisite was called "the year of vacancy" and it run from the close of the mortuary to the next feast of St. John the Baptist.

Yeverly (Derby) and Barrow (Cheshire), held by Sir Ambrose Cave during the royal visitation of 1535, yielded £ 107 rent and £ 39. 4. 5. responsions to the Convent at Malta. The manor of Yeverley with all its dependencies among which in 1385 were the churches of Arslecuit and Sonewedom, (2) only yielded enough to meet the burthens inherent to hospitality, the distribution of alms therein practised and the maintenance of the parish priest of Yeverly (3).

Hospitality likewise included daily pensioners and their servants. Thame's report mentions a William de Langeford who had his commons with the brotherhood at Clerkenwell, whenever it pleased him to dine at the hall, and commons for his chamberlain at the table of the free servants, and for two lads and a valet (pajettus) at the *garciones*' table.

A certain A. Gill, pensioner at Clerkenwell, is reported by Thame to have been given in that year (1338), daily, three white loaves, three loaves of ration bread, two black loaves, two flagons of the best beer, and one of second quality, an allowance from the kitchen correspond-

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(1) Sir Richard Nevill had the Commd. in 1524.

(2) Lib. Bull an 1385-6 vol. 323 f. 135. P. R. M.

(3) "Ambrosius Cave miles perceptor ejusdem perceptorie habet et occupat in manibus suis propriis manierium de Yeveley Stydde cum terris dominicis eidem manierio adjacentibus quem hil valent ultra sustentacionem hospitalitatis ibidem et elemosinas pauperibus illuc venientibus distributa, et sustentacionem unius cappellani ad custodiendam curam ibidem et administranda Sacramenta et Sacramentalia omnibus illuc venientibus." Valor Eccles. vol. 1. f. 168.

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ing to what was given to two members of the Order or two pence a day. Every year he was to have four wain-loads of brushwood and seven quarters of charcoal, one wain-load of litter, and four wain loads of hay. Every night he received half a bushel of oats and as many candles as were allowed to two members of the Order; and when the community happened to drink wine he had an allowance in the same proportion.

Seventy-two quarters of wheat, at two shillings a quarter of eight bushels, and eighty-four quarters of malt, at two shillings a quarter, for the confection of beer, besides fish, meat and all accompanying articles and vegetables supplied by the kitchen garden and dependences, dovecote and court-yard, as well as 160 quarters of barley at 1/- a quarter, were consumed in hospitality to strangers and their horses in 1338 according to Prior Thame's report. Three kinds of bread were supplied, and were in use, even in Malta, up to the departure of the Knights, the white or *panis albus* for Knights, high-class people and the sick, the ration bread or *panis carpentorum* specially given to artisans and common people, and the brown bread, not made of wheat alone, or *panis niger* for the lower class servants and slaves. The beer was likewise of two kinds, the *cerevisia melior* and its second quality, *cerevisia secunda*. At the time three gallons of beer could be sold for a penny; a fatted ox at less than 6s. 8d., a fatted sheep at 8d., a chicken at 1d., pigeons at 2d. per dozen, while an acre of the 80 acres of arable land attached to the manor of Barrow annexed to Yeverly, was then valued at 6d. a year and the meadow land at 2s. an acre (1).

Yeverly is one of the Hospitallers' properties, on which Henry III on the 9th September 1251 granted them sporting rights. The other commanderies mentioned were Anstey, Dynamor and Winkbourne (2).

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(1) Kemble l. c. pp. XLV and LIII.
(2) Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire no. 2571.

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The manor of Barrow with its dovecote, kitchen garden, orchard, windmill, cattle, eighty acres of arable land, and six of meadow land, was valued in 1535, burthens excluded, at twenty pounds. Among its burthens were 34 shillings to Almunton hospital, 60 shillings to Tytbury prior, 45 shillings to Antony Babington Kt., and 13s. 4d. to the Bishop in respect of Barrow church. (1).

Baddisford or Battesford (Suffolk) with its appurtenances and Dingley (Northampton), formed together one Commandery (probably each one of them taken separately was deemed to be insufficient for an average commandery), which yielded in 1535 a net rent of about £160 besides passing to the general funds of the Order £51. 14. 2 a year.

The inclusion of Battesford among the contributors in money, victuals and cattle towards Edward II's expedition against Scotland, together with the Prior of England, and the Commanders of Carbook and Chippenham (15th April 1310) tends to show that Battesford must have long been in a good economic condition. (2) The Commandery of Dingley, though held by a brother Chaplain in 1338, besides paying tithes to the amount of 20 shillings to the Parson or parish-priest of Dingley, maintained another chaplain. This shows the good state of its finances, as the statutes, enacted at the time of Grand Master Hugh Revel (1262 Sept. 19th.), ordered the maintenance of a chaplain only in those commanderies where means permitted (3). It will be well to note here that the Hospitaller commanderies invested with the power of administering justice including capital punishment, could not be

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(1) "Et etiam habet manerium de Barow cum pertinentiis et rectoriis ibidem que valet per annum ultra repris—£20. Valor Eccl. v. 1. f. 168.

(2) De la Ville le Roulx—Cartulaire No. 4899.

(3) De la Ville le Roulx, Cartulaire, no. 3039 § 17 «il fu establi que, en telz leur es quelz le pooir de la maison le porra soufrir, prestre soit tenu ensi com il avoit esté usé avant.»

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held by brother chaplains (1). Dingley and Dalby in 1385 formed one commandery (2).

Dalby, Rotheley (Temple Rotheley) and Heyther or Heather (Leicester) were likewise in later times amalgamated into one commandery (3). Dalby in Leicestershire in 1338 included Beaumont and yielded a revenue of £128.15.8. Sir John Babington in 1532 drew out of the three estates a net profit of £274 11.2 besides paying responsions of £86. 6. 8 and other burthens such as that of £2. 12. 8 to the Archdeacon of Leicester. After Babington's death, on the 10th January 1533, this commandery and the Bailwick of Eagle which he had also held, yielded in rent and responsions considerably less. Boston Rectory, annexed to Dalby and valued at £33. 16. 8 yearly rent, during the vacancy tax year ending 21 June 1535 yielded only £14. which amount was absorbed by the maintenance of its vicar and for strictly necessary expenses. The ten per cent royal tax had meanwhile been established and the laws of England had already forbidden any collections under papal indults.

The Corporation in this instance did not feel the loss as Babington's *Spoils* came in as a timely compensation. What went by the name of «Spoils» corresponded more or less to the «board of adjustment» in modern military parlance. and consisted in the sale of the effects of professed members of the Order which took place at their death. Every professed knight, servant-at-arms and chaplain was bound during any dangerous malady to draw up his last will, or, rather, a declaration of his assets and liabilities, called «disproprium,» in the presence of two other brethren. Thomas Golyns (Collins?) commander of Baddisford and

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(1) Ibidem no 3844. § 22 "Item establi est que, en nule baillie où aperteigne justice de sanc, frere prestre non doit estre bayllì." Statutes by N. Lorgue 27. Sept. 1283.

(2) L. B. 1385-6 vol. 323 f. 136. P.R.M.

(3) *See* Sir Thomas Newport original diploma of appointment to this commandery 24. Sett. 1497 in Ms. 888 no. 72 P.L.M.

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Dingley, who died in London on the 20 Jan. 1523, is reported to have made such a declaration in the presence of Sir John Babington, at the time Receiver General for the Common Treasury in England, and of Sir Edward Roche. A professed knight's estate passed to the Order with the exception of one fifth part, which by the Grand Master's and the Council's permission he was allowed to dispose of as he pleased. Under this rule Babington's *Spoils* yielded over two thousand pounds. The various items entered in the records of these «spoils» give us an insight into the profits derived and the losses sustained from commanderies, and into the standard of comfort in which knights lived: they also afford useful information as to prices of commodities at the time, and will therefore be reproduced in Appendix II. It appears from the wages paid that Babington had quite a respectable household and well-stocked stables. At his «spoils» three geldings bought by Sir John Rawson and by Sir Thomas Dingley fetched 26/4 a head, while 100 sheep, one stallion, and a mare, were sold, the whole lot, for eleven pounds sixteen shillings and twofarthings, and six common horses were sold for 30 shillings. Babington's bailwick of Eagle was well stocked with cattle and sheep.

Babington's silver plate was on a par with the rest of his establishment. It included one ewer and basin weighing 103 ounces, which, at 3[8, produced at the «spoils» £18. 19. 6; another set weighing 88 ounces went for £16. 2. 8; six bowls partly gilt weighing 48 ounces, at 3[9, sold for £ 9.1.10; six cruets sold for £ 5; twelve spoons, weighing 334 ounces, £61. 4. 8; twelve dishes of 197 ounces weight, £36. 2. 4; two gilt bowls sold one, for £4. 13 and the other for £4.4; four candlesticks fetched £9. 5. 3; a small vessel of 45 oz. weight sold for £10. 5. 4; four others with cover £3.11.6; one wine-decanter, at 4[- per oz., £ 2. 9; three gilt cups, 94 oz. weight, £ 17. 12. 6. Two gold necklaces of 30 oz. weight, one at 44[-, fetched £66. and the other at 40[-, £8; and two large vases, weighing 180 ounces, were subsequently given away by the consent and authority of Prior Weston and Commr. Darewe the Order's special envoy to Henry VIII.

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CARBROKE in the county of Norfolk, with CHIPPENHAM held by Sir Thomas Copledyke or Copuldyk, yielded an income of £ 76. 5. 1. not including £ 30. 6. 8 paid in responsions. In 1536 Copuldyk reduced his rate of contribution to the Treasury to £4.18 on the plea that by the new law he was to pay £10.0.5 to Government and that three-fourths of the Commandery's income was made up by fees and donations usually collected from the people during the year, «frariis et populi meris elemosinis quae hoc anno collecte non fuerunt.» These offerings collected under royal or papal grants to the Hospitallers were now stopped owing to the laws forbidding their collection. The preceptor had to provide a vicar for Carbroke church at £4 a year, two chaplains at £5 each, a third one to carry on divine service in Chippenham at a salary of £5-6. a year, and he had also to pay for the maintenance of six lads at 40 shillings a year each. (1)

When this property of Carbrook came to the Knights (2), some Nuns of their Order were placed in a hospital near one of the churches of S. Peter and of St. John, but these Nuns being removed to Buckland, Carbroke remained a preceptory where several brethren continued to dwell till the dissolution. The manor of Chippenham or Chipmana, a dependency of the above, was used as a hospital or convalescent home for the sick brethren, and in 1338 there resided in the Mansion of Chippenham a commander, who was a conventual chaplain, a knight, a servant-at-arms and another chaplain, and the infirmary was served by six brethren, namely a knight, two chaplains and three servants-at-arms.

In Chippenham, as in the principal manors, the household included a Donat (*Donatus*), viz. a lay associate for house-management who enjoyed certain privileges of the Order as aggregated to it though not bound by any of the religious vows or obligations of the same. The donat's horse and servant were kept at the expense of the house. The establish-

(1) Valor Ecclesiasticus vol. 3. f. 340.

(2) Mss. 926. and 954. M.P.L.

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ment at Chippanhan had three male nurses, a steward, and three free servants. The Knight Commander resided at Carbrook together with a brother chaplain and a servant-at-arms with their distinct households and over eight serving ecclesiastics. It was a rule at Carbroke to give a daily meal to thirteen poor people,as well as to any stranger applying for food (1).

Chippenham at the dissolution was granted to Sir Edw. North (3. Henry VIII) and Carbroke to Sir R. Gresham and Sir R. Southwell (35. H. VIII).

Willington or Willoughton in Lincolnshire, with its dependencies, was held by Sir William Darell, who died in Rhodes on 19th. April 1519, and afterwards by Sir Richard Neville, in 1525. It had a revenue of £195.3 and was taxed towards the Malta Convent to the amount of £73.3.10. Its first item of income reported in the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' furnishes an instance of the value and profit accruing from leases of landed property in 1535. Willington manor with its kitchen–garden, orchard, dovecote, dependent dwellings and one-hundred-and-four acres of arable land, eleven acres of meadow-land and twenty one acres of pasture, are valued ten pounds a year.

Among its outgoings mention is made of the alms daily given at the gate up to the sum of £13.16.8 a year, as per foundation of John Vere.

Slebeche in Pembrokeshire, with a revenue of £211.9.10 not including £82.14.6. responsions, affords an instance of the profit derived by a knight commander from being the patron of advowsons in right of several rectories and churches annexed to his manor. — Slebeche church yielded £ 5. 10, Bolyston church £ 4, Rose Market church £ 8, Mynwer's £ 8, Wiston's £ 17, Clarebadeston's £ 6, Walton's £6, Ambaston's £4, Amreth's £ 4, the parish of Llanstephan and the churches of Nantmelyn, Llanredcon, Castellan and Marteltwry £ 99.13.4 (2).—As a consequence, in 1539, the Sle-

(1) *See* Delaville, Cartulaire nos. 431 and 1093.

(2) Valor Eccl. Vol. 4. fol. 137.

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beche responsions, owing to the new religious restrictions in England, were reduced to £ 40 (1). The Commander nominated, and provided for the vicar of Amleston and for the rectories of Prendergast and Rudbackeston. The Grand Master nominated several parish priests and rectors to the churches annexed to the English Commanderies, as the relative diplomas in the Malta Chancery Registers attest (2); but one of the articles agreed upon in 1440, and approved on 26 Oct. 1459 by the Grand Master, left to the commanders the right of such elections. (3)

Badysley in Hampshire and Mayne in Dorsetshire, gave an income of £ 131. 14. 1 and their rate of responsions to the Treasury was of £ 44. 12. 1. Thame's report puts the rent derived from Mayne, including Kyngston and Wage, at £ 96. 2. 10 and of Badysley as part of Godesfield with Runham at £ 66. 13. 11. Among the property

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(1) Ms. 926.

(2) *See.* The Revd. Richard de Cornell's nomination to the parish of Obyne and of Tulick's chapel, dated 22 April 1386. (L B. an. 1385-6 v. 323 f. 139);—Recognition of the right of the Hospitallers to the church of S Mader of Runeri in Cornwall, and that the presentation of Th. de Chimelly by King John, 9 March 1205-6. while the lands of H. de Pomery, the donor, were in his hands, shall not prejudice their right. (J. Hunter, Rotuli ex archivis in domo capitulari West-monaster. p. 18. n. 86);— Presentation by W. d'Ewyas prior of Ireland to the Archbishop of Dublin of a certain Henry to the parish church of Stachfyckenan. (Cartulaire vol. 4. No. 1369 bis;—also No. 1847 bis.—Letter of l'Isleadam dated 19. July 1528 dealing with the presentation and nomination of the Parochial church of St. Peter de Espreville. vol. 413. L. B. an. 1527-28 f. 38. P. R. M.

(3) Item q preceptores quicumque regni anglie quocies aliqua eclesia seu vicaria situata infra dominia eorum preceptoriarum pertinencia, per mortem resignationem simplicem vel ex permutacione seu aliter qualiterumque vacaverit, nominabunt personam habilem et idonea m priori ospitalis predicti pro tempore existenti, q prior eandem personam sic p. preceptorem nominatam, suo ordinario sine difficultata pr esentabit et non aliam quoquo modo—L,B. an. 1439-40 vol.354 f. 214; L. B. an. 1459 v. 359 f. 145t.

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of these commanderies are to be reckoned woods and forests which generally served not only for providing timber for household use, but also for supplying building material for repairing wood-work in the preceptories' and for the galleys and ships of the Order. The timber supplied by the French priories, however, was more particularly reserved by the Order for ship-building and the high trees for masts (1). King Henry II had granted the Hospitallers the privilege of taking from the royal forests all the wood they needed (2), and Edward I granted them sporting rights in their property at Mayne as well as the right to hold a market on Mondays (3).

QUENINGTON near Fairfax (Gloucester) held by Sir John Rawson, brother to the Prior of Ireland J. Rawson, is put down in the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus' at a rental of £ 146. 17. 1 while others put it at £ 209. 16. The sum of £53. 2. 2 paid towards the Convent expenses is not included in the above amounts.

Before the Reformation this commandery, as almost all other commanderies in England, drew a revenue from what was called 'Placita et perquisita Curiarum' or courtfees paid by dependents from the same. The hospitallers enjoyed exemption with their dependents from the ordinary jurisdiction courts, and the commander had a certain jurisdiction over all dependents within the limits of his commandery. The Prior of England and at Clerkenwell in the same way as all other priors on the Continent,

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(1) Allusion to the high big trees of Badysley forest is to be found in Thames' report. "Item ibidem unus boscus grossi meremii, qui continet C acras et est in communi, unde nihil potest levare sine vasto, et reservatur pro emendatione domorum de bajula et bajularum de templecombe et Anstey et aliorum locorum templi devastatorum." The woods of Mayne in the year 1338 yielded nothing beyond what served for the house: 'Item ibidem de bosco ultra sustentacionem nil."

(2) Delavills le Roulx Cartulaire vol. IV. f. 313 no. 229 bis. A.D. 1154-89.

(3) Ibi. no. 4093. A.D. 2, May 1290.

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had a higher jurisdiction and a regular prison, where he could send even the knights condemned or liable to punishment under the laws of the State or the penal code of the Order.

ANSTEY (Wilts) and TREBIGH (Cornwall) in 1531 contributed to the Hospitaller Treasury the sum of £37. 19 paid in responsions, and drew a net endowment of £81. 8. 5. Anstey, before passing to the Hospitallers, had been an old fief bound to keep one knight for the service of the Crown.

TEMPLE-BRUER (Lincoln), formerly a commandery of the Knights Templars, drew a rental of £195 besides paying £48. 15. 5 to the general funds. Sir William Corbet, who died at Rhodes on the 25th of May, 1521, held this commandery. In 1338 the free labour done for the commandery was valued at a day-wage of 2d. per labourer and it figures for that year at £6. 4. 6, including work done in Rouston and North Kirkeby, two dependencies of the commandery (1).

DYNEMOR or DINMOR, nine miles from Hereford, was given to the Hospitallers by a member of their Order at the time of Henry II. (2) It was held by Lancelot Docwra, up to the date of his death, the 4th of May 1520. This commandery with its dependencies of Sutton, Rolston and Wormebrigge yielded £182. 7. 3. (3) and its last commander, Sir Edward Belyngham, paid in responsions £68. 14.

HALSTON, near the Welsh border, formerly belonging to the Templars, was valued at £160. 14. 10 and paid towards the general service of the Corporation £68. 5. 8. One seventh part of its income, derived from the annual collections made in the neighbouring churches and from voluntary contributions paid by the people, ceased after 1533. The knight at the head of this commandery was in charge of the Hos-

(1) Larking & Kemble, l. c. pp. XXVIII & 154-155.

(2) Delaville, Cartulaire no. 876 and 317bis in vol. IV. Grant of sporting rights by Henry III, 9 Sept. 1251, *ibi* no. 2571.

(3) Dynemor's value in the list drawn probably in 1385 (Ms. 958 M.P.L.) is given at 772 ducats.

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pitallers' property in the North of Wales (1). Also several parishes in the Isle of Man were dependencies of Halston, and Sir Roger Boydell, its Commander, was empowered by Grand Master Del Carretto, in 1517, to extend to them the Hospitaller privileges of collecting alms (questuas colligere) and of setting up "confrarias" (2) This was one of the commanderies returned to the Order by Philip and Mary and then taken back by Queen Elizabeth, in the fifth year of whose reign it was granted to one William Horne.

Larking and Kemble, in their notes on Thame's report, give, from Tanner, Dugdale and other sources, further information on the Hospitaller property in England and on its alienation to third parties by Henry VIII, Edward VI and Elizabeth. To those authorities, and to Delaville le Roulx's Cartulaire, one must have recourse for further light, in the absence of the particular registers of each commandery and of the Archives of the Tongue once preserved at Clerkenwell or at Melchebourn where the last Provincial Chapter was held on the 10th. of August 1535 (3).

Peckham and Stafford in Kent, another commandery belonging to the English Priorate, had been reserved ab immemorabili as part of the Grand Masters' appanage. Commanderies were thus reserved to the Grand Master in every priorate of the Corporation, and they went by the name of *Camera Magistralis*. Pope Pius IV in his Bull «Circumspecta» calls them « Preceptoriae et predia Mensa

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(1) Delaville, Cartulaire no. 4492.

(2) Lib. Bull. an 1517. vol. 406 fol. 161. P.R.M.

(3) « Die VIIa. decembris Mo. Do. IIIIo. Rdi. domini sexdecim cap lares considerantes q. maximum pondus consistit in scripturis quae in se continent iura prioratuum et preceptoriarum in partibus occiduis ut ob negligentiam non bonorum administrator. iactura intollerabilis futuris temporibus preceptorias non sequatur deliberaverunt—quod omnes prioratus habeant archivos sive thesaurum in aliqua camerarum prioralium in loco tuto et securo ab igne et furibus, quem si non habuerit ad hoc idoneum fiat de novo.....» Capitula Generalia 1498-1505 vol. 284. f. 77t.

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Magistrali unita.» They were twenty-three in all, and were as a rule given on long leases.

Sir Henry Crownhall, Knight, in 1417 was granted the commandery of Peckham by the Grand Master on payment of 400 Venitian gold ducats. (1) A Francis Bell and his heirs had it at £60 a year, for over forty years up to the dissolution of the Order in England; and it included the rectories of Rodmershm, Hadlowe and Tunbregge and pensions on the rectories of Shibbourn and Capell, all of them its dependencies. A forest and a wood, yielding a profit of about sixty-six shillings a year, were the only parts of the property, not given on lease (2). The rents derived from the commandery of Peckham, or West Peckham as it was called by others, and of Kilsaran or Ylbawes Killurie and Crobe, the *Camera Magistralis* in Ireland, (3) though not appertaining to the Common Treasury of the Order, were cashed by the Receiver General in England, who retained an honorarium of £24 a year for his trouble.

The Receiver General had an 'Assistant Treasurer:' the last man to hold the post was John Mableston, a brother chaplain, at a remuneration of £5 a year. A clerk at £10, and a messenger at £2 a year

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(1) L. B. an. 1416-17 vol. 340 f. 120t. P.R.M.

(2) L. B. an. 1516 vol. 405 f. 131; L. B. an. 1531-4 vol. 485 f. 131. P.R.M. Valor Ecclesiasticus vol. 1. p. 113.

(3) Kilsaran, on the 10th April 1514, appears to have been granted to Edmond Seys on the understanding that he had to pass six per cent of the rent to the Grand Master. L. B. an. 1514. vol 403. fol. 162 and 165t. These «camere» should not be confused with the commanderies of magisterial grace, namely with those which every Grand Master, after every five years of reign, was entitled to confer on any member of the Langue to which a vacant commandery belonged, provided such member had been five years in the Corporation and had served his four caravans. The Grand Master drew a year's rent out of these commanderies and imposed such pension as he chose on them. Grand priors in each Langue enjoyed every five years, a similar right of nomination to one vacant commandery of their priorate, with power to keep it for themselves if they chose, hence the fifth «camera» of every priory.

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completed the Receiver's establishment in England. Their work was to cash, besides responsions, mortuary and vacancy rents, moneys derived from sale of timber and from spoils and the passage fees due to the Treasury by all those who were admitted into the Order. As to passage fees, those who entered the Order in their infancy had to pay a higher rate—what was called a *minority passage* (1). Those who entered either as pages to the prince Grand Master, at from twelve to fifteen years of age, or as knights, after the age of sixteen, paid a lower fee called *majority passage*.

Buckland or Mynchn Bochland, in Somerset, should be reckoned among the Hospitaller commanderies. It was a nunnery given to the Order by King Henry II, in 1180, on condition that all nuns of the Order, who had been living up to then in different preceptories, should gather therein (2). The nuns who were at Swingfield, Standon, Hampton and Gosford were accordingly sent there, and when Jerusalem fell in the hands of Saladin (1187), their number was increased by the refugee Hospitaller nuns who had to abandon Palestine.

A document in the Chancery Registers records the election at Clerkenwell, of Sir Richard Cerne, on the 8th April 1417, by twelve Knight-Commanders and Knights, to the preceptory of Buckland, «domus nostrae de Bokeland in

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(1) The *minority passage* fee was fixed at 360 Spanish pistoles for knights and at 288 both for Conventual chaplains and servants-of-arms. A Spanish pistole was valued at 8 crowns and five grains of old Maltese money. *The majority passage* fees were 125 pistoles for knights, 100 for chaplains, 115 for servants-of-arms, and 33 for the *donats*—employed in Malta one in each Auberge.—Boisgelin, Malta, London 1805 v.I. p.297.

(2) King John's Charter on the property of the Hospitallers in England, of the 30 August 1199, confirms to them the property they had «Ex dono domini regis H [enrici], patris nostri, et Willelmi de Herleca et Johanis, filii ejus, ad collocandas et sustentandas ibidem sorores ordinis sui, locum de Bocland, in quo ecclesia B. Marie et S. Nicholai sita est, cum omnibus pertinenciis, ita quod prior Hospitalis in nulla alia domo sua retinebit sorores ordinis sui nisi in predicta domo de Bochland.» Delaville, Cartulaire No. 1093.

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qua plures nostrae religionis sorores commorantur,» and the confirmation given to it by the Grand Master, who, in that same year, appointed a chaplain to the same commandery with a remuneration of £4 a year. (1)

To what extent did the Hospitaller nuns depend from the Commander or Prior, what was their birth or social condition, and what their share in administering the Order's self-imposed hospitality it is difficult to say. It may be that originally it was intended that they should help the Hospitallers in nursing the sick and in giving hospitality to female pilgrims, and that in England they may not have been bound to the claustral life which was afterwards so strongly impressed by the Council of Trent as to all such sisterhoods. The Hospitaller Nunnery founded in 1218 in Cornbury, about five miles from Hereford, soon became independent of the Knight Prior in consequence of divergencies which arose between them; and the nuns thenceforth lived as canonesses adopting the rule of St. Augustine. The immediate ecclesiastical superior or ordinary of all members of the Order was the Prior of the Conventual Church, and the Hospitaller nuns were therefore subject to him or to his delegates, under the Grand Master of the Order, to the same extent as nuns of other religious orders were to their regular superiors. There were nuns or canonesses of justice, others of office, and there were lay-sisters and donats. Their dress seems to have been black and they wore the white cross, which may be taken to have been the real distinctive of all Hospitaller nuns, and which was worn over the dress or robe of each particular monastery. It is not likely that any of them changed their costume after the loss of Rhodes (2).

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(1) L.B. an. 1416-17 v. 340 f. 117 and 122t.

(2) H.W. Fingham in a lecture at Clerkenwell last year stated that the early costume of the Hospitaller nuns was red with a black cloak, and that it was changed to black after the fall of Rhodes as a sign of mourning for the loss of the Island. I am not aware of any good authority in support of this assertion nor do the prints and pictures of Hospitaller nuns reproduced by Bosio, and by Preti (Sta. Ubaldesca.

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In Malta, and probably elsewhere in later periods, nobility of birth was not insisted upon. The nunneries were generally assisted from the Hospitaller Treasury unless otherwise provided for. Several burthens laid on sundry commanderies as well as the grant the Treasury paid to Buckland up to the dissolution, tend to confirm this view. The Hospitaller nunnery of St. Ursula in Malta was even provided with wheat, oil, wine, water, wax and other food and church articles for its maintenance from the general funds of the Order. To lessen these burthens it was enacted in later periods (1659) that each nun on her entrance had to pay a sum of 1200 Maltese scudi to the Monastery.

In 1505 we find Buckland endowed with the property of four commanderies or «camere» viz: Kyrton, Donyngton, (1) Toller and Chilcombe. It derived profit also from Raynham, Templecombe, Swinfield and Kerbrooke or Carbrook and re-

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Sta. Toscana) uphold this contention. *See* M. de Saint-Allard, Nobiliaire Universel de France, v. 20 p. 223; Ph. Bonanni, Catalogus Ordinum Equestrium, Romae 1711 pl. 124; Regola delle Religiose di S. Giovanni per ordine del Gran Mro. G. Caraffa, Malta 1681 p. 23; «Constitutiones Canonissarum in Ecclesia S. Antonii Viennensis in Delphinatu» instituted by Gran Master Rohan and approved by Pope Pius VI 24 August 1782. The rules of these French canonesses state: «Les chanoinesses.... auront le meme habillement, il sera noir ou blanc ou bien noir garni de blanc, ou blanc garni de noir.... L'habit de choeur consistera dans une cappe de couleur noir bordee d'hermine.» v. 273 L. C. S. 1773-90 f. 322. Abbé Vertot, whose history of the Knights was not accepted by the Order [Council decrees 26. March 1726 and 9 May 1727], refers to nuns dress at Toulouse and Sixena monasteries, and not to all Hospitaller nuns.

(1) Sir William Hulles, Grand Prior of England, was given, in 1417, a commandery for Donygton and Kwketon, dependencies formerly annexed to his priory, and at the time appanage of the Nuns Hospitallers. L.B. an. 1416-17 v. 340 f. 120 P. R. M. This compensation, granted to the Grand Prior for what had been given to others out of his Priory, and for the loss sustained by him of all profits on spoils of deceased members passed to the Treasury of the Order, is recorded in the bull of the Grand Master and Convent, of the 20th. July 1485, appointing Sir John Kendal to the said Priory, as agreed upon by the Provincial Chapter of the English Knights. (L. B. an. 1489 f. 128.)

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ceived a royal grant of £6.13.4 a year. (1) Buckland's net endowment amounted to £223.7.4 exclusive of £45 paid to the Treasury, in reimbursement of part of what was being expended on its support.

Other commanderies and camere of the English Priorate are met with in the registers of the Malta Chancelry, such as Ossington or Olsington with the Winkbourne camera (2), and those mentioned by A. Porter in his History of the Knights of Malta, but as they either ceased to belong to the Hospitallers at the time of their arrival in Malta, or, were possibly included in those already mentioned, they need not be further referred to. The commanderies at one time numbered thirtytwo in England. Tanner states in his «Notitia Monastica», that the Hospitallers had 48 head-places, and shows the clear revenue of their head-house in London at £2385.12.8 and of 28 other houses in the country at £3,206.9.5. In 1199, the Hospitaller houses, compared to those held by the Templars, could not have been reputed to be of great value, seeing that the Hospitallers were taxed to the extent of only 750 marks in recognition of their tenure, whereas the Templars were bound to pay one thousand pounds sterling for theirs. (3) The tax imposed by Parliament, on 9th July 1412, on the Prior of St. John, towards the expenses of the expedition of the King's son for the recovery of Guyenne, was of 500 marks. (4)

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(1) Henry III had granted this subsidy, 20. July 1228, in support of three girls to be kept in the monastery (Cartulaire 1919 bis).

(2) In an agreement between Sir William Langstrothir, bailiff of Eagle, and Knight Commander Sir Henry Tocty, 8 April 1446, on the cession of this commandery, Sir William promised to give Sir Henry out of Ossyngton 804 marks a year, and to leave at his disposal two houses in summer and two others in winter in Winkbourn. L.B, an. 1446 v. 358 f. 229.

(3) Harry T.D., Rotuli de Finibus, London 1835. After the suppression, every English Templar received 4 *denari* a day and their chief 2 *solidi* out of the property transfered to the Hospitallers. Edward II 8. Feb. 1314 in Du-Puy, Histoire des Templiers, p. 480.

(4) Ibidem vol. II. p. 31.

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Passing to the Priorate of Ireland, in 1212 it had 142 different possessions between churches, benefices, castles, lands, and domains enumerated in the Apostolic Letters of Innocent III «Cum a Nobis», reported in the Latin Patrology of Migne. (1) These possessions constituted 23 commanderies, according to Mervyn Archdale's «Monasticon Hibernicum.» Their repartition in the different counties, as reported by C.L. Falkiner, (2) shows:

In county Kildare, the preceptories of Kilbegs, Kilheel now Kilteel, and Tully (3), which latter was ultimately held *in commendam* with the bishopric of Kildare.

In Wexford, the preceptory of St. John and St. Brigid, and the preceptory of Ballyheuka dependency of Kilclogan, known as Templetown, after its amalgamation—together with other commanderies of the Templars—with the property of the Hospitallers. Kilclogan was valued in 1326 at £140.13.0½. At the time of the dissolution of the Tongue it was let at £26.13.4.

In County Meath, the preceptories of Kilmainham-beg, leased before the dissolution to John Barnewall, Lord Trimleston, and Kilmainhamwood.

In County Down, St. John the Baptist, in the Ards, now known as Castleboy or Johnstown.

In Waterford, Killure, the original Hospitaller property, and Kilbarry, formerly belonging to the Templars, valued, in 1326, at £56. 6; and Crook valued at £32. 8. 4. (4)

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(1) Vol. 216 col. 640; Delaville le Roulx Cartulaire II, 1394.

(2) *The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Ireland*, Dublin 1907. —in the Proceedings of the R. Irish Academy.

(3) Five commanders of Irish commanderies were called to Rhodes on the 28th. Feb. 1515. Herbert Commander of Tully, William Keating Commr. of Kilclogan, Richard Mawril Commr. of Hilheel, William Poer Commr. of Cruche (Crook) and Richard Poer Commr. of Kilbury—vol. 404 L. B. 1515 f. 136.

(4) King John (31 May 1216) ordered that the Prior of St. John at Waterford be given possession of Baligogan near Dungarvan notwithstanding the opposition of the Bishop of Norwich. (*Cartulaire* No. 1474.) Henry III (16 June 1232) granted exemption from the Waterford town-dues to one Hospitaller house and one Commander. (*Ibid.* 1992). A similar exemption to the citizens of Dublin had been granted by John Lord of Ireland on 15 May 1192—Ibid. 923 bis.

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In County Cork, the preceptory of Mourne, or de Mona, or Ballynamona, the castle of which was built about 1335 by Sir John Fitz-Richard, at the time its commander. (1)

In Limerick, Any or Knockany, now a hospital.

In Galway, the preceptory of Kinalekin.

In Carlow, the commandery of Killergy.

In Roscommon, St. John's Random.

In County Louth, the commandery of Kilsaran close to Castle-Bellingham, valued, in 1326, £53.6.11 and leased prior to the dissolution to Sir Oliver Plunkett, and in 1570 to Sir Th. Plunkell, Lord of Louth.

In Tipperary, the commandery of Clannaul, valued £161. 17. 9, and the preceptory of Teach-Temple valued £78. 8 (A.D. 1326).

In the County of Dublin, CLONTARF, originally the property of the Templars. The manor of Clontarf was granted in 1311 to Richard de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, but the preceptory itself was transferred to the Hospitallers. In 1440 Clontarf was forfeited in consequence of the disloyalty of Thomas Fitz-Gerald then Prior of Kilmainham, and in the deed of restitution the King retained four hostages in guarantee of the fealty of the said Prior. (2) James Keating Prior of Ireland, owing to his persistent refusal to pay his dues to the Treasury, was deprived of Clontarf, by the Grand Master, on the 16th. Oct. 1464. Such was Keating's insubordination that eventually he even proved disloyal to the Sovereign, and was consequently deprived also of the Priory of Kilmainham, and Thomas Docray, Commander of Dynamor, was appointed in his stead. Henry VII, in 1495, by a special act of Parliament (11. Hen. VII c. 45), left the Priory to the Order; it otherwise would have gone to the Crown owing to Keating's rebellion. (3)

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(1) L. B. an. 1513 f. 136b. and L.B. an. 1514 f. 162t.

(2) Harris Nicolas, Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council London 1835. vol. V. p. 329. Addit. Ms. B.M. No. 4793.

(3) The act of Parliament and Henry's charter are reported in L. B. 1494-96. vol. 396 ff. 100 and 238.— Statutes of the Realm, vol. 2. ff. 613 and 633.

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In consequence of these troubles the English Sovereing, in 1495, ordered that the titular of the Irish Priory of Kilmainham should henceforth be always an English-born knight, to avoid that any help should be given to the then semi-independent and somewhat refractory Irish baronage. To check the power that the highest and wealthiest commanderies of the Order gave to their holders, and to secure useful auxiliaries, sovereigns in most parts of Europe began, in the 16th. Century, to confer these commanderies on their favourites, and after a time they became a sort of appanage of the younger members of royal families.

The Grand Prior of Ireland resided in, and took his title from, the Commandery of St. John at Kilmainham, near Dublin, which had been given to the Hospitallers, about 1174, by Richard Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke.

The extent of the possessions of the Priory at the dissolution is given in the inquiry ordered in the 33rd. of Henry VIII. The last Prior was seized of the said Priory with all its buildings, three gardens, an orchard enclosed by a stone wall, with four towers erected on the said wall, one tower on the north looking over the bridge across the river Liffey;—the gardens and orchard were reserved for the use of the Hospital—260 acres of arable land, of the annual value of £13; 12 acres of meadow, a large wood, covering 42 acres on the northern side of the river, another wood of 10 acres of underwood and 5 of pasture,—which were reserved for the use of the Hospital—and 260 acres of pasture and briars; a mill on the river Liffey, a fulling mill on the river Cammoke, a salmon weir with boat and nets on the Liffey, and the rectories of Kilmainham, Chapelized, Ballyfermot and Palmerston, besides scores of lesser endowments, all of which formed the valuable appanage of the Priory. (1) Mills and fisheries were an important feature in the domestic economy of the preceptories. (2)

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(1) From C. L. Falkiner l. c. p. 284.

(2) Delaville le Roulx Cartulaire No. 1471; 1713; 1408 bis.

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The Prior kept in the Priory his Court of Justice, and Henry III makes a reference to it, in 1237, ordering the Lord Justice of Ireland to prevent prosecution by the Prior against two of his dependants during their stay in England.(1) A question of jurisdiction between the Hospitallers and the Archbishop of Dublin, with reference to one of the rectories, was remitted by Pope Urban (A. D. 1262) to a special commission appointed by him. (2)

The system of hospitality to wayfarers prevalent in the commanderies in England was followed in the Priory and Hospitaller houses in Ireland. Guest-houses or hostelries, called «Frank Houses» and «Liber Hospes», were attached to various important preceptories, often under the supervision of a deputed knight or other member of the Order. In the agreement stipulated by the English Commanders and their Prior in 1440, and sanctioned by the Grand Master James De Mylly in 1459, it was provided that a wise and discreet Knight «miles sagax et discretus» should be put in charge of the dispensing of hospitality at Clerkenwell. In Dublin a «Frank House» was in Winetavern Street, at the time the fashionable quarter for visitors, near the church of Holy Trinity. This Frank House (Liber Hospes) was by the Dublin town-authorities declared (16 Feb. 1284) for ever quit from all sort of exactions, tallages, demands or collections of money («ab omnibus exactionibus, consuetudinibus, demandis, tallagiis seu pecuniarum summis quocumque nomine censeantur, libera remaneat»). (3) Henry Marshal, its donor and now recognised patron, was given in it, for life, 'all the rights of a free guest and all privileges granted by the Hospitallers to other free guests in Ireland. It was laid down that all brethren of the Order should be received in the house whenever they happened to be in Dublin, and that they should be given decent entertainment and stabling accommodation ; a white cloth, white

(1) Ib. No. 2173.
(2) Ib. No. 3042 bis.
(3) Delaville *Cartul.* No. 3851; 4102; 4108.

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salt, a white candle, fire, litter and cooking utensils — (Honestum hospicium et stabulum, mappam albam, sal album, candelam albam, ignem, litteram et vasa coquinaria.) (1) Reciprocal favours and grants, prompted by somewhat similar reasons of mutual advantage, may account for the existence of pensioners or «corrodaries» in every commandery and house of the Hospitallers, as reported in Thame's report. One of the corrodaries of Kilmainham Priory in 1350 was a Walter Islip. «Prior Roger Outlarve granted to Master Walter Islip, during life, entertainment for himself, two upper servants, a chamberlain and another servant, five boys and five horses. The said Walter to sit at the right hand of the Prior, thereby to be more commodiously served in eating and drinking, his chaplain to have a place at the table with the brethren of the house. That his pad and other horses should have the same forage with the Prior's. That at the feast of the Nativity, annually, he should have a gown and four garments of the better kind of cloth, the same as the Prior's; his chaplain to be clothed in like manner as the brethren, and his servants as those of the Prior. That when he dined in his own apartments he should have three white loaves equal in goodness and size to the Prior's; ten flagons of the best ale; beef, mutton and pork, from the kitchen, raw or dressed just as the Prior was served, together with roast meat or soup...That he should have a proper place within the walls of the Castle near the great gate to build a stable for his horses, and part of the garden near the said gate to make a nursery. That whenever the said Walter should dine in the hall, or in the Prior's chamber, he should be allowed for his evening potation after dinner, three flaggons of the best ale...» (2)

The Hospitallers in Ireland enjoyed the same privileges and liberties as their brethren in England. King John ex-

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(1) *Delaville.* Cartulaire 3852.

(2) Archdall's Monasticon in W. K. R. Bedford and R. Holbeche, *The Order of St. John of Jerusalem.* London 1902. p. 44.

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tended to them his royal favours. (1) For royal recognition and protection they presented two horses in 1201; and the Prior paid, in 1216, a charger worth 100 pence (solidis) (2) Edward I and Edward II approved and confirmed the privileges previously enjoyed by them.(3) Henry III, on the 8th of July 1251, subjected their new acquisitions to his royal consent, owing to their lands and property being exempt from payments of taxes and contributions. (4)

At the beginning of the sixteenth century the property of the Hospitallers in Ireland had to some extent decreased (5) and, after the loss of Rhodes, the Prior of Kilmainham thought it wise to hold what remained of it with his Priory to the prejudice of the Irish knights and brethren. The Chapter General of the Order, held at Viterbo, on 6th June 1527, took action in the matter and reserved the commanderies of Tully, Kilbegs or Kyllerge and Kilclogan or Kylletogan for Irish brother knights, the commandery of Crook or Groke and that of Any or Anne for the use

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(1) Delaville, Cartulaire Nos. 1124, 1135.

(2) Ibid. Nos. 1457 and 1458; Th. D. Hardy Rotuli de Finibus p. 360-370.

(3) Cartulaire Nos. 3551; 3725; 4822

(4) Ibid. No. 2569.

(5) Thomas Talbot had been nominated administrator of the Priory of Ireland, 15. April 1446, to adjust previous mal-administration L.B. an. 1446 v. 358 f. 237t. but with no good result as he had to be removed for the same reason.

The General Chapter held at Rhodes on the 17th. October 1504 commissioned Sir John Bouth, Sir Thomas Schefield and Sir Lancelot Docray to visit and inquire into the state of the Priory of Ireland and its commanderies, and ordered the Prior of England, Thomas Docray, Sir Th. Sheffield and Sir John Rawson to do the same with regard to the Commandery of Torphichen in Scotland and to report «si divinus cultus in eisdem celebratur et sancta hospitalitas manutenetur secundum fundatorum institutiones. Preterea ut sciremus verum et liquidum valorem tam dicti prioratus quam prenotatarum preceptoriarum». On 1st. February 1510 the Grand Master insisted on having the report. addressing himself to the said Grand Prior, to the Prior of Ireland Sir Robert Eners or Eure and to Sir Thomas Newport Bailiff of Eagle. L. B. 1508-10 v. 399 f; 135.

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of Irish brother chaplains; and the commandery of Kylsaran was reserved for the magisterial chamber. (1)

The annual contributions or responsions due by the Irish Priorate to the general funds of the Order was in later years, up to the dissolution of the Tongue, £26, whilst in 1331 its annual share had been put at 2000 florins, (2) and in 1466 at 1600 Roman scudi. (3)

In Scotland the Hospitallers possessed the commandery of Torphichen, in Linlithgowshire, since 1124. It originated from King David I. By concession of King Malcolm IV (1153-1163) a house had also been obtained in each burgh of the realm; (4) and King Alexander III confirmed and augmented (27. June 1284) their privileges and possessions. (5)

Pope Urban III by his concession, given on the 5th. of May 1186-7 «magistro et fratribus hospitalis Jerosolimitani per Scociam constitutis», authorized the Hospitallers to keep what the faithful would bequeath to their hospital. (6) In due time an increment to their lands came from the suppression of the Templars, and the Commandery or Domus Templi de Balcewdot thereby came to the Hospitallers. (7) The Grand Master yearly paid out of Balcewdot eight marks, six shillings and eight pence, to the Monastery of Helsow, as reported in the appointment of Frater John de Clundeloth to this commandery on 20th April 1446 (8) Frater John succeeded Frater Thomas Godwyn, who on 28. Jan. 1418 was empowered to admit and give the habit of the Order to two chaplains

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(1) L. B. an. 1526-28 v. 412 ff. 194t-196. P.R.M.

(2) Vol. 280 *cap. gen.* 1300-44 f. 7.

(3) V. 283 cap. gen. 1466-78 f. 31t.

(4) *Cartulaire* 214 bis. v. 4. f. 313-

(5) Ibid. 3862 bis.

(6) «Statuimus ut licitum sit vobis ea que vel in testamentis vel quolibet relicti genere a devocione fidelium vestro Xenodochio racionabili providencia *dim(ittuntur)* retinere.» Parchment I. (Copy of XIV century) Ms. 885 M. P. L.; P. Kehr Papsturkunden in Malta, No. 47.

(7) L. B. an. 1416-17 f. 122. *See* Clement V to Edward II 12 May 1312 in Du-Puy l. c. p. 449.

(8) L. B. an. 1446. v. 358 f. 231.

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to assist him in the government of, and in the ecclesiastical services performed in that preceptory. (1) The parish churches of Cultie or Cutmarie and of Obyne, diocese of Aberdeen, with the parish of Tulich, diocese of Edinburgh, were dependencies of the commandery of Torphichen. In 1386, at the death of David De Mare or De maje, these rectories were both conferred on Frater Richard Corwell by the Grand Master (2), and in 1446 they were given to Frater John de Chundeloth elected by Sir Andrew de Meldrum commander of Torphichen. To Cutmarie were annexed the tithes and rents of four villages and a mansion with its garden and dependencies for residence of the incumbent brother chaplain. (3) The Torphichen commandery had its property so scattered all over the Scottish realm that its commanders were often compelled to have recourse to coercive measures to defend it, sometimes with consequent bloodshed. For this reason manors and lands were given on perpetual lease, as stated by the Grand Master in empowering the Prior of Scotland, Walter Lyndsay, on the 1st. March 1533, to grant the manor and lands of Graugre on perpetual lease. (4) The whole revenue derived from the Torphichen commandery is put by some at £66 13. 6. Its responsions were £36 when it was held by Sir George Dundas (1525).

The Prior and Scotch Hospitallers' dependence from the Grand Prior of England was insisted upon by King Edward II (5), and under Grand Master Flavian the General

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(1) L. B. 1416-17 vol. 340. f. 122.

(2) L. B. an. 1385-6. vol. 323. f. 138 and 139.

(3) L. B. an. 1446 v. 358 f. 231 «una cum decimis gaòelis quatuor villorum scilicet tryncòlsy, essintuly et Cuabus tulibolbryis.... unam mansionem cum domibus et giardinis ac suis pertinentiis in qua ipse dñs fr. vel eius cappellanus qui pro tempore forent inhabitabit, cum cultura et majalium pascura.»

(4) «Armata manu non sine magna Xpiani sanguinis effusione plerumque nece...defendere cogebantur.» L. B. an. 1531-4. vol. 415 f. 164.

(5) Patent 13 Edward II. m 31. mentioned by Tanner, Not. Monastica «quod omnes domos et fres ordinis in Scocia et Wallia sint subjecta priori Hospitalis in Anglia.

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Chapter of the Order, on the 17th October 1422, passed sentence to the same effect; (1) notwithstanding that Scotch, Irish and English had to rest satisfied, each with the commanderies of their respective Priorates. (2) The Hospitaller property in Wales was likewise subject to the Grand Prior of England; and in King Edward I's charter, dated 17th June 1284, the privileges enjoyed by the English brotherhood in Wales are mentioned,--among which are sporting rights, the right to have their particular court of justice to judge minor offences, and to inflict fines and punishments exclusive of capital punishment or bodily mutilation, on any of their dependants, including their tenants and labourers; and the right to exact a penny a year from each family in Wales whose wealth was not less than ten shillings. (3) The English, Irish, Scotch and Welsh Hospitaller houses were the channels through which ran the life-blood sustaining the Tongue of England at the headquarters of the Order, and through which the Order exercised hospitality and relief of the poor on English soil, to substitute which, after the suppression of the monasteries and religious houses, it was necessary to establish the Poor Law with its burthens falling upon the Government.

As to the utility derived by the public from the property of the Hospitallers the following extract from Maisonneuve, who wrote in 1799, will be found interesting:

« Dans les terres de l'Ordre, comme dans celles du clergé en général, on ne voyoit point de pauvres; et l'on pouvoit citer les unes et les autres comme des modèles de parfaite culture et d'économie rurale. Elles étoient, sous ces rapports, très utiles à l'Etat, et lui présentoient sans cesse une masse de richesses territoriales, un crédit immense qui, dans les occasions difficiles, pouvoient être d'une grande

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(1) L.B. vol. 346 ff. 121, 136. See also *Cartul.* Nos. 5748, 4739.

(2) Vol. *cap. gen*, 1569. f. 51; vol. 22. f. 70, 176, 177.

(3) Cartulaire No. 3869.

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ressource. Voilà pourquoi les Rois, dans leur sagesse, avoient toujours protégé les possessions de l'Ordre de Malte et du clergé. ... qu'a-t-on gagné à les détruire?» (1)

THE STRENGTH OF THE TONGUE.

Each Hospitaller residence had its complement of knights, servants-of-arms, chaplains, donats and «confratres», though not all of them necessarily lived always within the commandery to which they were inscribed. A certain number had to be at Head-quarters, and, while there, the Order provided for their lodging and maintenance when not otherwise sufficiently endowed. The Chapter at Rhodes, under Grand Master Flavian (1428), compelled bailiffs and commanders there resident, and whose revenue exceeded 1,000 ducats, to maintain two knights each, and those who had over 500 ducats of revenue were each to give lodging to one knight. The Common Treasury paid to bailiffs and commanders in Rhodes, the table and clothing allowances (tabula et soldea) in respect of each knight lodged with them, and the established allowance of barley for their horses. (3) The Chapter General held in 1335, assigned to each knight 40 florins, and to each servant-of-arms 30 florins from the Treasury. (2)

Prior Thame gives the names of one-hundred-and-nineteen professed members and three donats of the English Tongue living in England during the year 1338, exclusive of lay associates, of eighty corrodaries and of the residents in Ireland and in the Convent abroad. Thirty-four were knights (Milites) fourteen of whom preceptors, forty-eight servants-of-arms, sixteen of whom held commanderies, and thirty-four were chaplains, seven of whom likewise held commanderies. Among the corrodaries were chaplains serving Hospitaller

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(1) Maisonneuve, Annales de l'Ordre, St. Petersbourg 1799.
(2) Cap. Gen. 1330-44. v. 280 f. 36t.

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churches, estate and house managers, stewards (senescalli), guardians and other officials. beside pensioners, who enjoyed their pensions in return for favours conferred on the Order.

The Grand Prior and Provincial Chapter together with the regular members of the Order in each residence brought forward candidates for presentation or adscription according to circumstances and in terms of ordinary or extraordinary powers vested in them by the central authority of the Order.

Grand Master Roger de Pin delegated to the Grand Prior John Pavely or Paully (15. Oct. 1358) power to give the habit to William or Thomas Coudresy, who had been presented and recommended to him by some knights, «if he were found strong, well formed and sound of limb, and born of parents of noble lineage on both sides.» He was not to be attached to any commandery, because, as soon as he was provided with horses and arms (1), he was to be sent to Rhodes by the first opportunity. Adam Welles was likewise to be solemnly girded and given the habit by the same Prior under the same conditions, except that he was to be attached to a commandery in the first instance, with a view to his being provided with what he needed, and that he was afterwards to be transferred to Rhodes with horses, arms &c.(2)

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(1) The arms with which each knight had to be provided in accordance with the decree of the Council given on 7th. May 1522 were: a complete suit of armour including buffe, shield, breast and backplate, arms and jambes—and offensive weapons, as swords, dagger cross-bow, arrows, thus described: «celatam, baviram, bracialettos, bergantinam sive alicrettum cum suis faldis sive brachiis aut cossalettos,... suum ensem accinctum etiam arma inhastata, etiam duas spingardas vel duas arbalistras vel unam spingardam et unam arbalistram aut duos arcis pro anglicis...»

(2) « Fr. rogerius et C.m prori anglie (Johanni de Pavely) et eius locumten.ti salutem et caritatem—Cum Adam de Welles ferventer desideret omnipotenti deo et glo.se virgini marie matri eius ac b.tissimo Johanni bapte patrono nro sub regulari habitu domus nre ppetuo famulari. Nosque eius pio desiderio volentes condescendere in hac parte recipiendi ipm in domus nre frem solleniter ut moris est *si aptus seu sanus et integer membris suis* eo prius p. vos vel alium *milicie cinglo decorato si ex utroque parente nobli legitime fuerit procreatus*—em. in altera baiuliarum dicti pioratus stagiam assignetis

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On the 24th. October 1417 the Grand Prior William Hulles was given authority by the central power to admit twelve gentlemen, well-formed and of good health, born of lawful wedlock, and possessing all other requisites laid down in the Hospitaller Statutes, who should be ready to transfer themselves, equipped with arms and horses, to Rhodes, — the then headquarters of the Order. (1) The preceptor of Balcewdot in Scotland, as already mentioned, was empowered to admit two priests into the Order capable of doing work in the commandery.(2)Sir Thomas Lancelevec,Turcopilier and Commander of Dally, Baddesley and Mayne, Mont St. John and Melchebourn could receive, in virtue of a special charter granted to him by Grand Master Antony Flavian and Convent (1421), eight knights, six servants-of-arms and six donats. (3) The Grand Prior W. Hulles was authorised that same year (21st. Oct. 1421) and by the same Master to receive and give

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in qua sibi provideri in suis necessariis faciatis scdm bonos usus et laudabiles consuetudines domus nre, vobis aucte p.ncialiter eciam elargimus quo per vos domus nre fco fra. veniendi ad convtum nrum Rodi in p.mo frem domus nre passagio cum equis et armis sufficentibus, a suo superiore prius licentia requisita, sibi licencia hac serie concedimus et donamus. Data Rodi die duodecima mensis Junii anno LVIII.—

The authority for Coudresey's reception states «et cum erit equis et armis munitus sufficientibus et promptus et paratus habebit navigium ad veniendum... Rodi, sic p. ei *non* assignetis stagiam in vestro prioratu prefato.» L. B. 1346-1358 Ms. 950 f. 200 P. L. M. Each knight, according to a statute enacted at Margat (1204-1206), had to be equipped with four horses, and each servant-of-arms with two «chascun frere chevalier doit avoir iiii chevauchehures, et les freres sergens qui servent d'armes, ii.» Delaville la Roulx Cartulaire II, 37

(1) L B. 1416-17 vol. 340 f. 121 t. «Data fuit licentiam dco. Willelmo hulles priori Anglie recipiendi in fres milites religionis viros duodecim dum tn sani apti integrique suis membris fuerint, et legmo thoro nati et qui Rodi conventum adeant cum equis et armis et secundum sta.ta».

(2) L. B. an. 1416-17 vol. 340 f. 121 t. & 123 «duos viros cappellanos religionis dum tamen apti sanique pro regimine ac servicio devocionis faciendis in dicta domo... »

(3) B. L. an. 1421-2 v. 346 f. 116t. and 236.

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the habit to fifteen knights and nine servants-of-arms. (1)

A few years later, on the 15th. of January 1437, another Lancelevec, or Lancevelec, was empowered to receive in his commandery three youngmen as knights, subject to enquiry being made by the Provincial Chapter of England as to their being of really noble birth and heraldry, well-built and strong, with no obligation to marry or other religious vow, in accordance with the Hospitaller Statute, and that they should be at least fourteen years old. (2) On the 15th. of January 1437 Robert Boutil, Commander of Melcheborne and Anstey, Sir Hugh Midelton, Commander of Beverley, Sir William Langstrother, Commander of Quenington were authorised to receive the first two, three and the third four knights in their respective commanderies, and Sir Walter Barley, Commander of Halston, was similarly authorised to receive three knights on the 14th. February following. (3) On the 17th. February 1460 William Daunay, Turcopilier, was authorised to admit two knights and a brother chaplain in the Priorate of England «dummodo per omnia tales fuerunt quales esse nostrae dictae domus stabilimenta postulent et requirunt in forma consueta.» (4)

The Prior of Ireland, Robert Eners or Ewre, who was subsequently deprived of the priory for mis-government, was admonished by the Grand Master (1. Feb. 1510) that he should abstain from admitting any member in the Order on his own authority, as such authority was vested in the Grand Master and the Convent alone (5).

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(1) L. B. an. 1421-2 v. 346 f. 236.

(2) « Si a nobilibus parentibus nomine et armis originem traxerint membrisque suis aptis et bene dispositi reperiantur, nulloque sint debitorum sive matrimoniali aut alterius religionis voto vel promissionis onere obligati, juxta formam stabilimentorum nostrorum et ad minus aetatis eorum annum quartumdecimum attingerint. » L. B. an. 1437-38 v. 353 f. 140.

(3) Lib. Bull. an. 1437-38 vol. 353 fol. 140. P.R.M.

(4) L. B. an. 1460 v. 370 f. 142.

(5) « Insuper ad n.ram noticiam p.venit qd vos ven.de prior hirlande vra aucts datis et confertis habitum religionis nre fribus dicti

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In 1303 the strength of the Order at Cyprus consisted of 80 knights and servants-of-arms. Of these the English Tongue was to provide barely five, each one to be equipped with two horses and two esquires, if a knight, and with two horses and one esquire if a servant-of-arms.

When the garrison of Rhodes was raised to 200 knights and servants-of-arms, the contigrat to be furnished by the Tongue of England was increased to 28.

The registers of the Chancery of the Order record the call of six English knights at one and the same time, in 1358:— John Yveley Commander of Chibortta, Richard D'Ourctena Commander of Mount St. John, Philip Massi Commander of Clanefeld, Thomas Madeston, Commander of Battesford and the two new knights Thomas Scaldhoc and Nicholas Chamberleyn above mentioned (1). The English contingent was not increased when in 1466 the Hospitallers garrison in Rhodes was fixed at 300 knights, 30 chaplains and 20 servants-of-arms (2), it was not increased in

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prioratus et una cum habitu preceptorias que de iure facere non debetis cum sit mera nra auctas et conventus—Quapropter vobis iniungimus in virtute scte obedientie ut talia ulterius non faciatis absque nra expressa licentia—Et vos ven.de nr locumtenens hmoi malis introductis omnibus nostro noie olim abitis ne trahantur in pessimam consequentiam.» L. B. 1505-10 vol. 399 f. 135.

(1) The call of John de Yveley Commander of Chibortta [Chibourn (?)] gives interesting details as to the way he and his companions had to reach Rhodes viz. by way of Venice on a vessel commanded by the Prior of Venice Napoleon de Tibertis. «Quia ad promocionem fidei hostiumve eius resistenciam nostrarumque insularum tutelam pauci fratres degunt presentialiter in nro cismarino conventu fieri debere passagium de Veneciis ad Rodum intra annum unum, a mense augusti pr.mo venienti continuo computandum sub capitanatu religiosi in Xpo nob. carissimi fratris Napolionis de Tibertis domus eiusdem pr.oris veneciarum, de certo fratrum numero domus n.re linguar. Anglie Ytalie et Alamanie perspecialiter consulta deliberacione habita cum meis proceribus duximus ordinandum et quod vos de pr.ratu anglie in ipo passagio venire cum equis et armis sufficientibus debeatis, vos ideo....» 10. July 1358. L. B. 1346-1358 P. R. M.; Ms. 950 f. 206t. M. P. L.

(2) Cap. Gen. 1466-1478 vol 282 f. 39t. e 192t. «Prioratus Anglie milites cum prioratu hibernie et scocie vigiti octo.»

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1501, when the total strength was brought up to 400 (1) or in 1514 when it was further increased by 150 bringing up the total to 550 (2).

On certain occasions, however, the number of English knights must have been much larger. Pope Gregory, in December 1375, requested King Edward III, without any reference to the contingent serving in the Convent, to allow 38 knights and an equal number of servants-of-arms, to accompany the Grand Prior to Rumania to fight the Turks, as part of a force of 500 knights and 500 servants-of-arms destined by the Order for that service. (3) Two centuries before (11th. October 1168) a convention with Amoury, King of Jerusalem, fixed at 500 knights and 500 turcopoles the Hospitaller contingent for that King's expedition against Egypt. (4)

The Grand Prior of the Tongue under Edward I was made to contribute 20 men towards the defence of Galloway in Scotland. (5)

In Malta the names of those who had the right to vote, excluding chaplains, donats, (6) honorary knights, and even

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(1) Cap. Gen. 1498-1504 v. 284 vol 282 f. 72 where 40,000 florins appear to have been spent in one year to maintain the 400 brethren including their table and clothing allowances. »

(2) Vol. 285. Cap. Gen. 1514 f. 2.

(3) P. Paoli, Codice Diplom. T. 2 No. 77.

(4) Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire I. No. 402. In an expedition against Hamah, in 1233, the Hospitallers were represented by 100 knights, 400 sergeants on horseback (turcopoles) and 1300 infantry. At the battle of Gaza (17. Oct. 1244) the Hospitallers lost on the field 325 knights and 200 turcopoles. Delaville le Roulx,Les Hospitaliers, Paris 1904. pp. 172 and 181.

(5) Palgrave, Documents for the History of Scotland p. 297.

(6) A Proxy entered on the 28th. September 1558 shows that the Tongue had in Malta a frater Antony Milboche, and, on 13th. April 1533, Gyé Lawson, a donat attached to the Malta Alberge without vote. This election of a donat for the Alberge is thus reported : «At a collect holden the xviii day of April 1533—f edward bellingham levetenente torchoplyer—was geven of grace especial unto gye lawson the offyce of the donnetship under this condytion so that he the said gye law-

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servants-of-arms, appear in the records of proceedings at the top or at the end of the minutes. At times these names came up to 19, at other times to 15, often to 13, their number ever tending to become less and less after the incorporation of the property of the Order and the dissolution of the Tongue effected, first by Henry VIII, and afterwards by Elizabeth. To the number of voters mentioned as belonging to the Tongue, there should be added in several cases knights who were in Malta under punishment, or on account of illness, or under probation previous to their profession, and therefore all of them precluded from taking part in the deliberations and from sending down to us the maximum strength of the knights in residence in Malta. It is however clear, on comparing the small force of the contingents supplied by the English Tongue with those supplied by the others on various occasions, that it was the least rich in members.

The Council of the Order aware of this fact,—which became even more accentuated after the spoliation of the property of the Tongue—on suspending, in August 1541, all receptions of knights and servants-of-arms for three successive years, made an exception in favour of the Tongue of England.

Judging from the English and Irish knights enumerated in 1540 in the decree of dissolution by Henry VIII, granting provisional pensions to the dispossessed members, there were only 26, between priors, commanders and professed knights, besides four recognized chaplains and donats. (1)

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son shoulde do all manufacte (?) whiche apparteyneth unto a donnet for to doo, and he so dooing that than he to use and occupy the same offyce duringe his lyff. In wytness of the trouth all y gentilman then beinge have subscrybed their names the day and yere above said. —f edward belinghem lyvetenent torcoplyer— sir joan chamber k.— antony rogers--f william tyrell—f john babington k—f thames husys (?) —f thas. thornehill—f antony bentham k —f nichlys upton—f harry gerard.» Ms. 955. f. 2. M.P.L.

(1) (32. Hen. VIII. c. 24) Statutes of the Realm, London 1817 f. 778.

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Philip and Mary in restoring the Order in 1558 through the instrumentality of Cardinal Pole, provided for only ten between dignitaries and commanders. (1)

It is not therefore to be wondered at that, at that time and subsequently, few Englishmen were found in Malta wearing the habit of the Order.

We have mentioned that each residence of the Order besides its complement of knights servants-of-arms and chaplains had also Donats and Confratres. The latter were persons aggregated to the Order, who enjoyed its protection and temporal and spiritual privileges, (2) and were subject to the prior or commander of the house to which they were affiliated.

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(1) The original charters are preserved in the Malta Public Library in Ms. 889.

(2) The following charter of aggregation of the Noble John Daniel and his wife Margaret as 'confratres' of the Grand Priory, or of any Commandery in England they chose, granted by Grand Master Fabritius del Caretto on the 20th July 1514, sheds some light on the position of the «Confratres» in the Corporation:—Frater Fabricius Nobili viro Joani et margarite conjugibus anglicis in christo nobis charissimis salutem. Decet ut devotarum personarum desideriis ad salutem an.arum tendentibus facilem assensum nostrum prebeamus. Sane pro parte vra nobis fuit expositum quod vos cupitis deo, beate Marie Virgini et patrono nro Sacto Joanni baptistae sub titulo et prerogativa *confratrum* nostrorum famulari, super quo nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum. Nos igitur h.moi supplicationibus inclinati, serie p.ntium de n.ra certa scientia vos ambos in *confratres* n.ri ordinis charitative recipiemus et numero aliorum confratrum nostrorum in anglia existentium aggregamur cum honoribus et oneribus consuetis, decernentes q. vos ambo et qlibet vrum sitis participes oibus bonis et meritoriis op.ibus quae fiunt in religione nostra quodque gaudeatis privilegiis et exemptionibus quibus ceteri nostri confratres gaudent et gaudere debent, mandantes vobis ambobus et cuilibet vestrum ut sitis venerando priori prioratus nri Anglie, aut preceptori, infra limite preceptorie eiusd. hujusmodi confraternitate vti volueritis, eius iustis et honestis preceptis obedientes, prout sunt et esse debent ceteri confratres, precipimusque premissis vendo. priori et preceptori ut vos in cathalogo aliorum confratrum describant et per eorum posse defendant, atque sub eorum protectione in vim presentium suscipiant. In cuius....In cera ni...Datum die XX Julii MCCCCCXIIII—Vol. 403 L. *B.* an. 1514. f. 168. P.R.M.

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It seems that the «Confratres» took an oath to defend the Order, its property and rights, to the utmost of their power(1), and were bound to present a small gift once a year (2). Thomas Scaldhoc and Nicholas Camberlegn (Chamberlain?), aggregated to the English Priorate on 1st. October 1358, were to offer half-a-pound of wax each on the feast of St. John the Baptist.

The «Confratres» generally constituted one or more guilds, «Confraria», attached to a commandery; and the dependence and relations of these guilds from the prior or commander must have necessarily differed somewhat according to circumstances, though all participated alike in the spiritual privileges of the Order. The 'Confratres' enjoyed exemption from all other jurisdictions and were subject only to that of the Order. This may be gathered from a memorial of one of these fraternities established in a dependency of the Hospitallers at Saragoza, and approved by the Chapter General at Malta on the 30th March 1588 (3).

A charter of Grand Master Fabricius del Carretto empowering the Commander of Halston to erect such guilds or

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(1) «Rogerius ... discreto viro Thome Scaldhoc» «Quapropter vos qui iurastis ad sancta dei evangelia corporaliter manutacta nos fres et bona ac iura dti. ordinis ubilibet toto posse defendere et salvare procurando utilia et inutilia pro viribus evitando et si per vos evitari non possent defferi facere nuncio vel liris ad nostram noticiam vel successorum nrorum aut alicujus fris nri ordinis qui nos aut dictos nros. successores deis certos reddat in confratrem nrum. n.re religionis recipimus ..... (L. B. 1346-58 Ms. 950 f. 202 P. L. M.)

(2) Customs of the Order—Article 122 in Delaville, Cartulaire No. 2213.

(3) The said fraternity of S. John submitted «se esse immunes et exemptos ab omnibus jurisdictionibus aliorum, sed subsunt et subditi sunt Jurisdictioni Ordinis Sti. Joannis Hierosolimitani ut ex pluribus privilegiis et exemptionibus est videre. Ideo petentium confirmationem privilegiorum immunitatum et exemptionum et quatenus opus est novam concessionem.... confirmamus, approbamus et rathificamus oratoribus supradicta privilegia et exemptiones, et quatenus opus est denovo concedimus prout supplicatum...» Vol. 292. Cap. Gen. 1587 ab inc. f. 20.

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fraternities in the dependencies of the Order in the Isle of Man, gives no particulars as to the status, privileges and obligations of the Confratres. (1)

The Merchant Taylors Company of the City of London were aggregated as Confratres by Grand Prior John Pavely (1358-71) in St. John's Church, Clerkenwell, and confirmed by the Lord Grand Prior Robert Malory (1432.) They were made to share in the spiritual advantages deriving from all prayers, alms, sufferings and good works of the Order. The Merchant Taylors were in the habit of meeting in St. John's Clerkenwell for a high mass on the feast of the Decollation of St. John the Baptist, when each member offered a penny and was a guest, at dinner, of the knights and brethren at Clerkenwell. (2)

The Donats, other lay-associates, eventually superseded the confratres, and the modern Ambulance Brigades of the Hospital of St. John's in England, Italy, Austria and Germany may be taken to have substituted the original confrarias under the changed circumstances of the Order and of Eŭrope.

The Donats originally had to be of noble birth, were chosen by the preceptor of the commandery to which they were affiliated, and could in due course become knights (3). In later times there arose the distinction between donats of noble birth and those who were not. The General Chapter held in 1357, when assigning to Donats their work declared that it was not necessary for them to be of noble birth. In Malta, one of these donats in each Auberge, had the management of the house. When Grand Master Pinto established the Urban Militia and attached a company to each Auberge, the donat of the Auberge was given a

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(1) « licentiam facultatem et protestatem damus in prefata insula et aliis locis circumvicinis ubi equus fuerit publicandi dicta nostra privilegia ad X.pi fidelium spirituale soiamen, etiam erigendi confrarias ad instar aliarum preceptoriarum in dicto nostro prioratu erectas, et questuas colligendi .... » 22nd July 1517. L. B. 1517 v. 406 f. 161.

(2) Summary of Clode's records of the Merchant Taylor's Company in the Grand Priory of England Report for 1913. pp. 14-16.

(3) Delaville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers p. 298.

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sort of command over the company so attached. (1) In token of their connection with the Order both classes wore what is called a *demi-cross* (with three two-pointed arms instead of four).

THE CHIEF OF THE TONGUE.

The official chief of the English Knights both in Malta, and in the other centres previously held by the Order, was the Turcopilier. In course of time this office attained to the rank of a major dignity, one of the seven known as Conventual Bailiwicks, the holders whereof were permanent residents and represented their Tongues in the place in which the Grand Master resided and which was called the « Convent. » But the Turcopiliership did not enjoy this high dignity from the beginning. Before 1303 it was merely one of the military posts at Headquarters. The Turcopilier was appointed by the Chapter General, and, in the exercise of the duties of his office, was a subordinate of the Marshal of the Order in the same way as the holders of other military posts. In course of time the office acquired special prominence. The utility derived from the services of light cavalry, called in Syria 'Turcopils,' enhanced the importance of the Turcopilier, their commander, and the incorporation with the light cavalry, of the marchers, bannerets or bandoliers (2)

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(1) Ms. 13 p. 223. M P.L.

(2) It is difficult to give in modern military parlance the equivalent of the ancient offices of *banneret* and *turcopil* in the Order. Perhaps the best way of illustrating the meaning of *banneret* or *bandolier* is to quote from the petition of a Michele of Paolo Tonna, alias, *Bandolero*. Tonna, on 9th December 1569, to obtain from the Chapter General of the Order the confirmation of his appointment as Bandolier or Banneret, which had been conferred on him by Grand Master La Vallette, stated

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and coastguards, made it necessary that the Turcopilier should be in constant consultation with the Grand Master and Council. The convenience, nay the necessity of placing the heads of the different *langues* constituting the Order, on an equal footing also rendered it advisable that the Turco-

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« that during the siege, being with his horse in the new city, he was ordered to accompany the Captain of the Cavalry to the old city, as he accordingly did. And that whilst in that city, as Your Lordships may find out from the Worshipful Governor and from the many other knights who were there, he took part in so many encounters that it may be said that the petitioner was in almost every action first or among the first ordinarily sent out into the country to act as guide or to reconnoitre the enemy, with a view to supply information to the predecessors of Your Lordships. These services were so frequent that they may be called innumerable. On many occasions petitioner by himself captured many Turks and many more in company with others » . . . . « In consideration whereof the said predecessors of Your Lordships conferred on him the office of Banneret which he at present holds. » —(Lib. Bull. ann: 1570-1571 vol. 433. f. 252).

In the distribution of forces ordered on 11th June 1735 it was laid down that the captains of villages and of regiments were to inform the Senescal, (the Commander-in-chief) of their movements, in emergencies, by means of a turcopil or mounted soldier. The guards were to be inspected daily, by the said captains and by the turcopils and bannerets alternately. (Vol. 1118 P. R, M.)

From these extracts it would appear that the Bannarets were mounted petty-officers ranking above the turcopils and with the duties above stated.

The Bannarets were few. At Rhodes, in the Chapter General of 1504, the Turcopils are reckoned at 44 and their Bannerets at two. « Item pro gaugiis bandereri turcopulorum fl. XL at xviii—Item pro gaugiis quadragentaquatuor turcopulorum fl. VIIIc LXXX. » Vol. 884 Cap. Gen. 1498-1504 f. 72.

In a return, dated 18th May 1701, of the troops stationed at Gozo, 1073 men in all, reference is made to two Bannerets and two Turcopils as presumably forming part of a Corps of 64 horsemen. (Vol. 265. L. C. 1700-9 f. 33).

The Treasury accounts presented on the 2nd March 1781 give the expenditure incurred in respect of Turcopils and Bannerets in Malta and Gozo at Sc: 306. 9 tarì. and one grain, as against the amount of Scudi 637,827 for the Maltese Regiment, and Sc: 1227 for the Regiment of Chasseurs, and of Sc. 9015 for the artillerymen and Sc. 3286 incurred for the Guards (vol. 273. L. C. S. 1764-72 f. 243t).

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pilier, should be raised to the rank of a first dignitary of the Order, notwithstanding that the office had at times been held by a servant-of-arms (1)

The Statutes of the Order, printed for the first time by command of Grand Master Cardinal D'Aubusson in 1497, lay down that the Turcopilier was to be styled the Bailiff of the Tongue of England, 'being the pillar and head of it.' It was the duty of the Turcopilier to see that the rules were obeyed by the brethren of the Tongue and to keep the Auberge at the Convent for their convenience. He was authorized to have an official seal. («Officium sit turcopilerii qui principium et caput Linguae erit, ad protectionem statutorum invigilat et suae linguae baiulivus appellatur et suorum fratrum hospicium teneat et sui officii sigilli habeat.») The burthen and consequent responsibility imposed on the

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The Knight Commander Caravita (who died in 1690) in his Ms. work on the Common Treasury of the Order (vol. II chap. X.) stated that the Bannerets of Malta were two, paid at Sc. 33. 2. 12 a year and that they received twelve salms of barley for their two horses. The Turcopils were: one at Notabile at Sc. 19. 5; one at Musta at Sc. 19. 5; two at Naxar at Sc. 18 each; one at Birchircara at Sc. 18; two at Zeitun at Sc. 12 and Sc. 19. 8 respectively; two at Zurriek at Sc. 18 each and one at Siggieui at Sc. 12. Their duty was to inspect the night-guards round the coasts of the island.

« The Bannerets from olden times were always two; but the Turcopils, formerly 17, were reduced to 11, there being no use for six of them after the building of towers round the Island by Grand Master de Redin. The Turcopils who draw the highest pay are those who have to inspect the most distant guards—though their stipend may be varied by order of the Senescal as may be seen from the pay books.» Caravita Ms. 186 in the M. P. Library.

(1) Delaville le Roulx, Les Hospitaliers, Paris 1904 p. 292. It seems that during the first two centuries the Hospitallers were not particular as to the class or nation of the holders of the principal offices in the Corporation. The deed entered into by the Hospitallers with Vagnolo de Vagnoli at Limassol,(27th May 1306,)to take possession of Rhodes, shows that the Drapper or Grand Conservator at the time was an Englishman by name Walter (Gualterio Anglico), and the Marshal was a German (Alberto Alemanno) L. B. an. 1392 vol. 327 f. 187t. P. R. M.

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dignity, with residence tied down to Headquarters, while the other bailiffs of the Tongue (the Grand Prior of England, the Prior of Ireland and the Bailiff of Eagle), enjoyed high position, relative ease and good appanage at home, made in course of time, the Turcopiliership, notwithstanding its pre-eminence, a stepping-stone to those dignities. The Turcopilier, however, in later times often preferred to reside in England, whence his house at Clerkenwell, leaving his office to be discharged at the Convent by a lieutenant chosen by the Tongue, and elected and approved by the Grand Master and Council.

The extent of the attributions belonging to the Turcopiliership was the cause of frequent quarrels.

In the records of the bulls of Chancery of 1433 a protest stands registered in the name of William Tonge, Lieutenant Turcopilier, and of the other English Knights in Rhodes, against their having been precluded from going to the Council of Basle, to which they had appealed as to certain prerogatives of the Turcopilier. That Council, as is well known, passed through many vicissitudes until the Fathers were congregated at the Lateran in Rome, first in 1444, under Pope Eugenius IV, and then under his successor, Nicholas V. A bull of this latter Pope, given at S. Peter's on the 31st May 1448, sanctioned the agreement arrived at by the General Chapter of the Order, held in Rome under Eugenius IV. That agreement was assented to by the Grand Master and Prince of Rhodes John Lastic, to whom the Castellan and the other officers of the island were subject, and by the Lieutenant Turcopilier, John Langstrother Commander of Dalby, in union with his Tongue. It was then laid down that the Turcopilier or his deputies were not to be molested in the performance of their duties, and that no one could be dispensed from the duty of mounting guard, except one man for each castellany (military station). It was the Turcopilier's duty to inspect the guards and he was the depositary of the watchword. As regards punishments his powers were likewise

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better regulated. (1)

But, naturally, other difficulties connected with the exercise of this office continued to crop up in a corporation in which each legion or nation was jealous of its particular pre-eminences and rights The Registers of the Order record that the garrison of Castle S. Peter of Budrum refused to allow English knights with their suit to be lodged and fed in the Tower of St. Catherine, which had been built by the English Tongue «ob constructionem dictae turris ab angliis factam,» Recourse had to be had to the Grand Master, and the custom in favour of the Englishmen's contention having ing been proved, the Council ordered it to be continued. (2) But there were fresh misunderstandings in 1475, in 1478 and 1495, on the subject of the appointment of bannerets, marchmen and turcopils, and the Lieutenant Turcopilier, as aprotest, in 1475 resigned his office, being supported by his Tongue.(3) There were in consequence fresh declarations of the Council on the 10th. Dec 1478 and on the 26th. Jan. 1496. (4)

The election of Stamate Gallante, a Rhodiote, entered in the minute book of the Tongue on the 4th. of August 1531 to the office of Banneret in Malta shows that the final decision as to the appointment of Bannerets was in favour of the English Tongue. The election is in the following terms: «at the same assemble on th oder syde rehersed was admytted by Sir John Sutton knight levetenent turcoplyer and all the worshepfull brethren of the Inglysshe tonge into th office of the banarettship stamate gallante duringe the therme of his lyff doinge his office as he ought and perteyneth therto. In witnes wherof every man hath under wretten his name the day and yere ut antea.—John babyngton baylly of eygiil— John sutton levetenent turcoplier — George aylmer co.r of

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(1) L. B. an. 1445 vol. 357 f. 157: L. C. 1478-88 vol. 76 p. 63t.

(2) L. B. 1436-7 v. 352 f. 132t.— Soldiers at Castle S. Peter were to be (after 1501) not less than 20 years old and not over 40— Cap. Genl. 1498-1504 v. 284 f. 76.

(3) L. B. an. 1475-76 vol. 383 p. 84. 5. Oct 1475

(4) Castelli Torremuzza «Memorie sulla Dignità del Turcopiliere» Palermo 1788 p. 122.

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halston—f. Edward browne k—f. Thomas Dyngley co.m of badsley—f. henri poolle—f. Cuthbert layton c.m—f. Wyllyam tyrell—f. John babington kt.—Antony roger—Rychard broke k.—f. Jhames heusy kt.—f. Anthony bentham k.—f. nycolys upton kt.—f. philyp babyngton kt. (1)

The English knights were not loth at times to push their claims forward by the use of force. We find that on the 13th May 1501 the Lieutenant Turcopilier was punished for having with his own hands pulled off the beard of a certain Cosquino, (2) and on the 5th Aug. 1507 there is the entry of a charge against the knights Sir Thomas Boydell and Sir Albion Pole for having during their inspections broken the lock or chain securing the door of one of the guardrooms. (3)

On the 3rd February 1508 a fresh convention became necessary between the Prince Grand Master of Rhodes and the Tongue, represented by Sir Thomas Newport, Bailiff of Eagle, and by the Commanders Sir William Darell and Sir William Weston. The Turcopilier was given preference in the acquisition of straw and comestibles so far as they were required for his men and for the horsemen of the guard, and he was forbidden from unduly beating the men on guard who were found asleep! (4)

One of the first causes of friction between the Order and the Maltese was due to the supervision of the maritime guards assumed by the Turcopilier in Malta as practised in Rhodes. The 'Capitan della Verga' and the civic magistracy of Notabile thus found themselves deprived of a prerogative hitherto belonging to them and at once lodged their protest. But considering that the Order was entrusted with the defence of the Island by the Charter of Charles V, it was incumbent on the Castellan to see to the management of the Port and on the Turcopilier to supervise the guards.

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(1) Ms. 955 f. 15t. P.L.M.

(2) L. C. an. 1501-11 vol. 81 f. 1.

(3) ibi f. 64t. and 67.

(4) ibi f. 78t.

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To render the loss of this privilege less painful, by letter of the Vice Chancellor Tomaso Bosio (afterwards Bishop of Malta), of the 15th June 1532, sixteen ounces were assigned to the «Capitan della Verga» and two ounces each to the «Jurats,» above their usual allowance, out of the 250 ounces allotted to the Municipality from the «*scisa*» or tax on wine.

On the 7th November 1533 the Jurats again appealed to the Council of the Order on the subject of the service of the guards and of the pretensions of the Turcopilier. On the 29th April 1547 there was a fresh complaint from the Jurats, and another Commission was appointed to enquire into the matter. Claude de la Sengle, afterwards Grand Master, sat as a member on this Commission. Yet again on the 30th August 1552, and on 19th June and 5th October 1553, the pretensions of the Turcopilier are contested, and one of the commissioners appointed to see into and to settle the matter is Jean la Valette, who also afterwards became Grand Master. Finally, at the Chapter General held in 1558, the Turcopilier had the prerogatives enjoyed by him in Rhodes extended and definitively recognized in these Islands.

Under the Kings of Sicily the Maltese had been subject to military service, in the same way as the natives of Rhodes had been subject under the Knights, and were bound to furnish the local militia and coastguards. The «*Deima*» and «*Maharres*», were the names by which the ancient Maltese militia and guards were known. On the 30th. of March 1598 the Grand Master re-distributed the force into 60 posts or stations, and placed the country militia under the command of knights, as practised in 1552. It was the Turcopilier's duty to call 240 men every night and to post them by fours to each station, all under his orders.

On the office of Turcopilier being merged in the Grandmastership (1) the command of the militia and guards passed to the Senescal.

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(1) Gregory XIV gave his approval to this measure by the brief of the 9th of June, 1582.

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When the Tongue ofEngland was substituted by the Anglo-Bavarian Langue, a repetition of the notorious contentions between the old Tongue of England and the Langue of Provence brought out the real importance of the duties of the Turcopilier in the defence of the territory of theOrder. To theLangue of Provence belonged the pre-eminence of inspecting the artillery of the whole Island thrcugh the Knight Commander of Artillery, and to the Turcopilier belonged the inspection of forts. Now as the forts mounted ordinance and bombardiers were stationed therein, the Artillery Commandant contended that they were subject to him rather than to the Turcopilier. A futile incident lit up the bonfire of strife. The Banneret Nobile Manduca, between the first and second watch in August 1783, was proceeding to inspect the Fort of St. Thomas at Marsascala, which was in charge at the time of the « capo mastro » Angelo Psaila. Manduca, riding a donkey, was followed by a Turcopil and other men, who jumping over the wall of a field lying opposite the Fort, made themselves free of the melons and figs in the field. Psaila reported the occurrence to the Artillery Commandant, and not to the Lieutenant Turcopilier, Commander Wieregg. The latter thereupon punished him,and theLangue of Provence took offence. The right of inspection is debated and the French seek to interest the Courts of Versailles and of Rome against the German pretensions. Lengthy pleadings are drawn up and set in print, and the Council of the Order, on the 12th July 1784, decides in favour of the Turcopilier. The French Monarch threw water on the flames, although the real gist of the whole question, as pointed out by the French Chargé, the Balì Vento des Pennes, to the Foreign Minister, Count de Vergennes, reduced itself to laying down how much of the custody of the forts and of the island was to be left in German hands and taken away from French hands (1).

(1) A Versailles le 19 8bre 1784—Le Roi a été instruit, Monsieur, des difficultés élevées particulierment par la Langue de Provence au retablissement des droits et prerogatives dont jouissait autre fois la Langue Angloise en faveur de la Langue Anglo-Bavaroise. Sa Majesté

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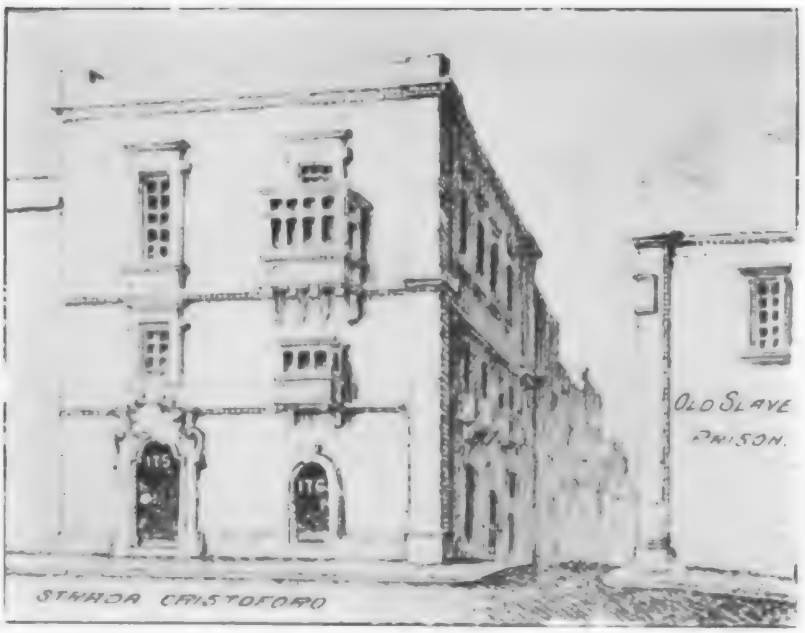

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MAISON ANGLAISE DESTINED BY SIR JAMES SCHELLEY FOR AN AUBERGE D'ANGLETERRE

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THE AUBERGE.

Its Building

Besides the leadership and supervision of the guards and mounted troops of these islands, determined in the Pontifical Brief (Pope Gregory XIII, 24th. March 1583) as «Excubiarum insulae melevitanae praeminentia,» to the Turcopilier also belonged the honourable burthen of keeping the Auberge for the members of his Tongue, and of calling and presiding over the meetings held in it.

The Statutes did not lay down that there should be a separate building for the Auberge of each Tongue.

The Pilier or the Tongue might lease a house for the purpose, but even the house of the Pilier could do for lodging such of the members as required it and for the prescribed meetings.

Sir Richard Salford, together with representatives of other Langues, was, on the 23rd. September 1530, sent from Syracuse to select suitable sites for the Establishment of the Order in Malta. The best and most convenient houses at the time existing in Birgu—the township at the back of the fortress then known as the «Castello a mare,» afterwards called St. Angelo,—were selected for the Auberges.

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après avoir examiné cette affaire a pensè qu'un des moyens les plus assures d'ettouffer un' germe de division dans l'Ordre etoit, Monsieur, que je vous fisse connoitre qu'elle desiroit que dans cette occasion personne ne mit obstacle a des arrangemens qui lui ont paru convenables a tous egards dans le principe et dont les details reglés par le grand Maitre et le conseil de l'Ordre sont analogues aux vues qu'ont guidé son Emce. et le Conseil lors de l'etablissement de la Langue Anglo-Bavaroise. J éspere, Monsieur, que vous vous occuperez avec zele de ce que sa Majesté attend de vous, que sur tout vous reprimerez autant qu'il dependera de vous l'ardeur des jeunes chevaliers provenceux a contrarier des dispositions aux quelles vous meme avez eu part, et qui ne portent prejudice a personne, puis qu'elles ne tendent qu'a donner a la Langue Anglo-Bavaroise les prerogatives dont la Langue Angloise jouissoit. Je vous prie, Monsieur de me mettre en etat d'assurer sa Majesté du success des vos soins a cet egard.—J ai l'honneur d'etre—De Vergennes—*Address* Mr. le Bailli des Pennes.

(Memorie Inquisitore Zondadari vol. 3 Inquisitors' Archives—Archbishop's Palace, Malta.)

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The *Auberge of England* in the Birgu or Borgo, now called «Vittoriosa,» is mentioned in the minutes of the proceedings of the Tongue under the 4th. of March 1532. In a deliberation taken under the presidency of Sir John Sutton, the fifteen English Knights then present decided to build a convenient apartment for the Turcopilier and his Lieutenant, on the vacant site at the southern corner of the palace of the Auberge, to save the rent which they would otherwise have had to pay for a house for the said officers, thus reducing the rent payable for the Auberge to twelve ducats a year. The minutes of the same meeting state that Sir John Babington, Bailiff of Eagle, and former Turcopilier, had paid out of pocket thirteen ducats for rent of another house. (1)

Babington's house thus referred to seems to have been the one mentioned in a preceding separate record of the 24th. March 1532 as «a mansion howse not far dystant from the market sted wythin the borowe of Malta, wherin now f. harry pole knyght of the honorable tounge of Jngland at this present remaynethe.» (2)

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(1) At a collect holden the iiiith day of marche 1531 a nati.te in the presens of Sir John Sutton knyght levetenante Turcoplyer and commander of Beverley the hole tonge passed that ther shoulde be buylded upon the voyde roome at the south end of the paleyse of th arbagio to be made a sufficient chambre for the Turcoplyeror levetenante Torcoplyer, and the tonge to be at noo ferder charge for th' arbage, but that house aloone extemed at XII ducatts. Consideringe that sir John babingeton late turcoplyer was contented wt. that same ptie, and to pay th oder house of XIII duckatts of his own purse, rememberinge the povertie of the tonge that was in his tyme and as yet at this day ys havynge no man of money before hand napery nor oder utensylis. In wittnes of which to be holden rate and firme from this day forwarde all the hole tonge hath put to their hands the day and yere above said. fr. John Sutton levetenant turcoplier—f. edwarde belygen—f. Edward Browne k.—f. Thomas Dyngley Kt.—f. Cuthbert layton Kt.—f. Rychard Broke Kt.—f. John babington Kt.—f. henry poole—f, wyllyam tyrrell Kt.—f. antony rogers—f. rychard Salford Kt. — f. Jhamys Husy — f. Thomas Cavdyssh Kt.—f, antony Bentham—f. Tomas Thornehull—Ms. 955. f. 14. M.P.L.

(2) Ms. 955 f. 22 M.P.L.

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Sir Clement West, who succeeded Babington as Turcopilier, acquired (on the 7th. October and 11th December 1534, by deeds of Bartolomeo Salvaggi de Via.) (1) a house in the district of S. Maria of Monserrat in Birgu. West paid for the house thirty ounces to Caterina Abela, whose husband, Leonardo, had been captured and made a slave by the Infidels. West gave this house to the Tongue on the 29th. May 1535. (2)

It would not be possible now to identify the exact spot occupied by the Auberge of England in Vittoriosa, after the many changes and renewals effected there before and after the famous siege of 1565. The deed, done in the Auberge between the Commander Sir John Sutton and Sir Edward Babington Commander of Dynmore and lieutenant of the Turcopilier Clement West, on the 13th. March 1534, in the acts of the said Bartolomeo de Via, gives no indication beyond «Datum Melitae et in qua tenebatur Albergia prefatae venerandae linguae angliae posita in suburbio Castri Maris presentibus venerandis ac nobilibus dominis fratribus Ludovico Cortez Hyspano ac Guillelmo Tyrel, Antonio Rogiers et Antonio Bentham anglis milit.s dicti Ordinis.» (3)

When the Tongue of England was deprived of its lands and property, Oswell Massemberg, the Lieutenant Turcopilier, had recourse to the Grand Master and Council, for help. On the 5th. of August 1546 the Grand Master and Council decreed that the Common Treasury should pass to the Tongue the annual pension of twenty scudi, to be paid for the house used as Auberge (pro solvenda pensione seu

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(1) Vol. XIII p. 75 in Public Notarial Archives, Malta.

(2) Ms. 955 f. 18t. « Md. that the XXIXth day of may at a tonge holden, sir element west toorcoplier gave unto o.r tonge the house that he bought unto the wif of nardy habell as aperethe by the compacte, made by the notary bartholeme de via in the yere of o.r lord 1534 the VII day of october—in wittnys whereof the said fr. element west torcoplier hathe subscribed his nam in the day and time above said and all the tonge then pr.sent—as god wyll—f. element West.»

(3) B. Selvagi de Via's rotuli vol. 12 f. 81.

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domus allogerio ubi dicta lingua habet *albergium*.) (1) At the restoration of the Tongue by Queen Mary, Cardinal Reginald Pole, through the Grand Prior Tresham, made a gift of 62 pounds sterling, five pence: «for and teward the purchas of a convenyant hows for alberge for the reveret tounge of Jngland beying resydent in the convent at malta and allso for the furnytur of the same.» (2)

This money reached Malta through the then Bailiff of Eagle P. Felizes de la Nuça. On the 7th. December 1559, stands the entry that P. Felizes de la Nuça, Bailiff of Eagle, «delyvered unto the reveritt tonge of Jngland for the furnytur and necessary porvicyon of the said tonge the some of fyftye crowns in silver of XII terynes to the crowne.» (3)

At the end of the reign of Philip and Mary and the accession to the throne of Queen Elizabeth the Tongue was in even greater financial straits. On the 3rd. September 1560 the English Knights resolved on selling and doing away with «houses, gardens and other stable goods which the said tong hathe or ought to have within this Isle of Malta and contents of the same . . . and the money yaring of the said sayle or alienation to be put in bancke *for the hiring of a convenient house or alberge.*» And on the 14th. November following, after having received the Grand Master's

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(1) L. C. an. 1543-8. vol. 87 f. 56.

(2) Ms. 955 f. 98. Ano 1559 the VIIth day of Desember M.d that f. Pedro felyces bayly of th egell beynge in Ingland resevyd of f Thomas Tresham knight lord of saynt Johns the sum of LXIIth v d of Inglysh money for and teward the purchas of a convenyant hows for alberge for the reverett tonge of Ingland beying resydent in the convent in malta and also for the furnytur of the same.

f James Shelley, f. Oliver starkey.

(3) *ibi*—Ano Dni 1559 the VIIth of december

M.d that f pedro felices bayley of thegell of the some above resyted delyvered unto the reveritt tonge of Jngland for the furnytur and necessary provycyon of the sayd tonge the some of fyftye crowns in sylver at XII terynes to the crowne. So that the sayd reverent bayly of thegell for the resydue of the some above specyfyed ys and remaynethe dettor to the tonge of Jngland—f. James Shelley, fa. Oliver Starkey.

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authority, the sale of the houses and stable goods was ordered to be carried out to the advantage and convenience of the Tongue. (1)

On the last day of February of that same year 1560, the Tongue had elected, and the Grand Master had confirmed, «uti habilem et idoneum» Sir Oliver Starkey, as Lieut-

(1) Ao Dni 1560 the iiird day of September.

Md. of a tong holden by the licence of my lord greate mr. John de valeta being lieutenant turcoplier Sr. Olyver Starkey the venerable tong of Jngland agreed and determined that all such houses gardens and other stable goods which the said tong hathe or ought to have within this Ile of Malta and content of the same shal be soulde and alienated to the behouf and profitt of the said tong and the money yaring of the said sayle or alienation to be put in bancke for the hiring of a convenient house or alberge tyll such tyme as the said tong shall dispose otherwise of the said money. for the perfurment whereof and that the purchase may be duly performed the venerable tong aforesaid hathe given and by these present dote give full power and authority to Sr. Olyver Starky Lieutenant Turcoplier aforesaid to sell and alienate all the houses gardens and stable goods aforesaid to such byers as will give and pay most for the same and having received sums of money for the same for to assur the buers in name of the tonge, as procuror lawfully ordered for the same effect, and farder the said venerable tong by these p.nts doth give full auctority and power to the lieutenant turcoplier aforsaid to claim demand and receive all money of rights, debts and other interests w.ch by any manner or do pertain to the tong aforsaid, for the same to take such wayes and credits with these person or p sons as he shall deal with— all as shall be to the most profit and benefitt of the tong aforsaid. Allways wth this respect that he shall bind him self as he doth by these p.nts to give goods.....Ms. 955 ff. 52-3.

(b) Md that at a collectt holden the XIIIIth day of november being lord great mr. fa. Jhon de Valleta and Lieutenat Turcoplier Sr. Olyver Starkey. the said Lieutenant and the whole tonge of Jngland (having licence of the Lord great mr. aforesaid to sell and alienate all the houses and gardens which she have or unto the tong doth pertain comyng within the Ile of Malta and contente of the same, as it may and doth appear authentycly registered in the book of the chancelerie), with our consent and accord as agreed and do agree that all the houses, tenements gardens et alias (?) above recited shal be sold and alienated to the proffitt and comfort of the said Venerand tong of Jngland. Ao. Dni. 1560 14 November—fr. Oliver Starkey lieut. turcop.—fr. James Shelley—Ms. 955 ff. 51.

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enant Turcopilier (1) Starkey had received a commandery at the restoration carried out by Cardinal Pole in the name of the English Sovereigns on 2nd. April 1557. On 11th. July 1561, Starkey felt it his duty to appeal to the Council, against the Bailiff of Eagle, Felizes de la Nuça, for the sum remaining due to the Tongue out of the bequest of Cardinal Pole. (2)

The balance of that bequest still due on 15th May 1564, amounted to 100 scudi which De la Nuça declared himself ready to deposit, on condition that the house which was to serve as auberge should be built inasmuch as the grant was given to him expressly for the building of the auberge (hujusmodi pecunias sibi traditas fuisse pro aedificanda domo ejusdem lingue) (3).

On the 5th of July following the Council appointed a commission to enquire into the way in which the 50 scudi previously paid out of the sáid bequest had been disposed of, and to find out whether that amount would have sufficed for the acquisition of the proposed mansion. The Bailiff of Eagle was ordered to deposit the 100 scudi with the Conventual bailiff, the Grand Conservator (4).

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(1) Memorandum that the last day of february 1560 the tong being howlden by the licence of my lord greate mr. fa. Jho de Valleta, being president of the same the reverend bayley of the egle fa. pitro felizes de la nuza by the commandment of my lord great mr. aforsaide, was chosen Sr. Olyver Starkey knight by the consent of the whole tong to be lieutenant turcoplier nemine discrepante, in wytnes wherof the whole tong hathe subscribed their names the day and yere above written—po. felizes de la nuca baylio del aquila—fra George de dudley—Ms. 955. f. 48t-

(2) L.C. an. 1561-67 v. 91 f. 13. P.R.M.

(3) *Ibi.* f. 123t.

(4) *Ibi.* ff. 124t and 127.

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Starkey would not desist from his determination to set up a convenient auberge. On the 22nd. December 1561 he was authorized to take a house on lease and to set up therein the auberge for the knights of the Tongue (1). He came in conflict with the knight Dionisius Coscon on account of a yard adjoining the house, and obtained a decision in his favour from the Council on 23rd July 1562.

On the 15th March 1564 we find Sir Oliver Starkey before the Council laying claim to a house at Birgu belonging to the late Bartolomeo Salvagi de Via, in opposition to the knight Bertrand de Valadieres, called St. Andiol, on the ground that his claim was based on the right arising from public utility, the premises being required for the Auberge of the Tongue of England (quia eam petierit et petit scilicet pro usv publico et necessitate Albergiae Venerandae linguae Angliae). St Andiol contended that the house in question did not adjoin the house held by Starkey in which the Auberge was being kept, there being a street between the two houses and that it was not wanted for the benefit of the Auberge, as no such building existed whilst the house in which Starkey lived was his own (negante esse pro usu publico Albergiae, cum nullum Albergium in praesentiorum Venerandae Lingue Angliae sit, et domus quam dictus de Starkey inhabitat illius sit propria). The Council dismissed St. Andiol's allegations and held Starkey's contention to be right, bidding him, however, to reimburse St. Andiol of the costs (2).

When the Knights were transferred to Valletta, the Chapter General of 1569 left it to the Grand Master and Council to mark out the sites for the erection of the palaces of their auberges (3). The site marked out for the Tongue of England was that enclosed by the four streets

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(1) Vol. 91. L. c.1561-67 f. 44.

(2) Vol. 92. L. C. 1567-70 f. 118.

(3) Vol. 300 Cap. Gen. an. 1569 f. 65.

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now called «Mercanti,» «Cristoforo,» «S. Paolo» and «S. Domenico». That site, however, was never occupied by a building intended for that purpose, either because the Tongue did not possess means to undertake building the Auberge, or because the members of the Tongue, reduced to a few, took up private residences and these or others held by dignitaries were made to serve as Auberge.

The Auberge buildings were not necessarily owned by the corporations constituting the legions or national branches of the Order. It was sufficient that they should be houses owned or leased or held by the chief of the respective Langue at Head-quarters. We have precedents for this at Rhodes, at Viterbo and at Birgu, the precedents of Babington, West and others. At Viterbo the English knights had for their Auberge a house which they hired (1525-1527) at nine scudi every six months (1). It was therefore clear that as Starkey was Lieutenant Turcopilier and as the members of the Tongue assembled in his house, that house for the purposes of the Corporation and in the absence of a palace belonging to the Tongue was the true Auberge of the Venerable Tongue of England.

About this time the Knight Sir James Schelley,—brother to Sir Richard Schelley, the Turcopilier, afterwards Prior of England,—resided in Malta. On the 2nd August 1577. by deed of the Notary Matteo Briffa, Sir James bought a house at the corner of Strada St. Ursola with Strada Cristoforo opposite the Slave Prison.

It was Schelley's intention that this house should be used as the Auberge of England until such time as a better place could be provided. Schelley at his death bequeathed the house to the Venerable Assembly of the Conventual

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(1) 20th March 1526 «Item paid for house rent of the habarga from the 20 daye of Januario untill the 20 daye of Jugnio which is VI monthes sc. 9.— » «2 d'augusto—Item pd to m. Almandiano son for house rent of the arbage ds. at 9. vz—sc. 9-4»—Ms. 940. Discharge of accounts 1525-27. f. 70. M.P.L.

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Chaplains of St. John with the expressed reservation that on the re-integration of the Tongue the house should serve as the Auberge of England. We read in the records of the Venerable Assembly, under the 25th. October 1627, on the petition of Dr. Pier Antonio Fiore to have the said house on long lease and offering to effect improvements therein,

(translation) « Die xxv Mensis Octobris 1627.

..... The Venerable Assembly holds a house in this city of Valletta in the street of St. Roche corner with the Slave Prison, which house was left by the quondam Commander *Angles* to the said Venerable Assembly to enjoy its use until the Kingdom of England returns to the obedience of Holy Church, with the obligation in the meanwhile of saying masses for the rest of his soul, and that should the Tongue of England come back to this Holy Religion said house should be given to it for Auberge. In the meantime although said house is at present let for thirty scudi a year and more being tendered for same, should the Kingdom of England return to the obedience of Holy Church and should its Auberge be re-established in the Convent (petitioner is content that) the said house should revert to the Tongue of England for the above purpose without any right to claim the said 200 scudi which he now offers to have the lease and which are meant to accrue to the said Venerable Assembly, the English being only then bound to pay for any improvements and betterments effected in the said house by the petitioner. » This is why the house in question went by the name of « Domus Angliae » and « the house of the English » in the books of the Administration of the Venerable Assemly (1).

The French Demanial Commission in 1799 still called the house in question « Maison Anglez et Schelly » and described it as being situated in front of the habitation of

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(1) Decreti ven. assemblea vol. 1989. an. 1617—1629 f. 71 ; vol, 1987 f. 133.

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the then Justice of the Peace for the West (Valletta and Floriana), (1) notwithstanding that it had been rebuilt in 1716 at an outlay of scudi 4201 (2). It is therefore obvious that if any particular edifice in Valletta is to be marked out as the Hospice or Auberge permanently destined for the knights of the Tongue of England, during the residence of the Order in this city and before the incorporation of the said Tongue, Schelley's house and no other should enjoy the preference.

I purposely say «permanently destined» because as the knights vested with dignities belonging to the Tongue of England or holding offices representing the same, were bound to keep the Auberge, their particular dwellings became, for the time of their tenure, the «Auberge.» In fact the senior knight resident in Malta, if able to undertake the charge, was given a seat and voted in the Council as Pilier of the Tongue of England (3) and as such he took precedence after the Grand Master's household and the Vice-Chancellor but before the other members of the Council (Delib. Cons. 19th November 1635). This knight's obligation to keep the English Auberge became the subject of a question which was decided by the Council on the 11th December 1600, in consequence of an altercation between the knights R. de Very and Geronimo Alliata.

Possibly one of the knights who held the post of Pilier lived in the house called «La Giornata» occupying the site on which the Theatre Royal now stands. Very likely it was for this reason that that house was by various historians indicated as the Auberge of England. Ciantar, Porter, and many others in recent times, refer to the Auberge d'Angleterre as the building commonly called, at the time of the Order, «La

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(1) Letter of the 3 Nivose an. 8--in vol. 95 f. 107 and 109. M. Govt. Treasury.

(2) Decreti V. Assemb. 18. Gen. 1718 «Super Melioramentis domus dell'Inglesi» vol. 1989 f. 230.

(3) Vol. 100 L. C. 1597-1603 f. 161.

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Giornata.» The «Malta Penny Magazine» of the 7th August 1841, and then Bartlett in «Overland Routes», London, 1851, p. 13 published a view of the building, calling it the Auberge d'Angleterre. In 1902 Bedford-Holbeche, in «The Order of St. John of Jerusalem»—reproduced it at p. 38.

This house is described in the Cadaster of the Cotoner Foundation as having 23 canes of frontage on the street now called «Mezzodì» by 13½ depth. The plan of the city drawn up by the Knight Antalla in 1600 and inserted in Bosio's book, calls the block now occupied by the Theatre Royal «Casa del Comm. Lanfreducci» and none of the plans drawn up during the Gerosolmitan dominion and showing the Auberges has ever shown this house as being the Auberge of England.

Comm. Francesco Lanfreducci sold the house in the deeds of G. Tolosenti, on the 3rd September 1629, to Comm. Giulio Accarigi afterwards Admiral of the Langue of Italy. From Accarigi it passed into the hands of Grand Master Lascaris, on 22nd April 1638, by deed of the Notary Michele Ralli, at the price of 2034 scudi. Lascaris merged it into his Foundation. The jurats of Valletta, in April 1786, by deed of Notary Vincenzo Grillet, bought it for 18,846 scudi and turned it into a Municipal Bakery.

A further proof that the building «La Giornata» had not been the Auberge of England in Valletta is desumed from the purchase of the Carnerio Palace in December 1782 for the purpose of making it the Auberge of England and Bavaria. (1)

At the constitution of the Anglo-Bavarian Langue as a revival and continuation of the ancient Tongue of England the palace of the Bailiff of Acres, Gaspard Carnerio, was selected to be the Palace of the Tongue.

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(1) Vol. 640 Chirografi Camera dei Conti 1780-2. f. 364. P.R.M; vol. 302 f. 51. Govt. Treasury.

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The site occupied by the building was separately valued at 11,656 scudi, irrespective of the value of the building set down at 39,602 scudi, to allow of the site value being deducted from the price of purchase to be paid by the Anglo-Bavarian Langue, in so far as such site value was supposed to correspond to that of the site granted free of charge to the Tongue of England at the distribution of sites made in 1569 (1).

The Bailiff Carnerio had completed his building on the site of the old lime-kilm on the 12th. January 1696. He had obtained the enjoyment of the building for the term of two lives. At the expiration of this term the Common Treasury was to receive 21 scudi a year, corresponding to the rent payable for the pre-esisting building, and the remaining balance of the profit derived from the building was to be invested in the purchase of bronze guns for the defence of the fortress of Malta or for the Galleys, or in the purchase of a «jewel» viz: a present to the Church of St. John.

The building was made over to the new Langue for 20,000 scudi. It was valued at twice that amount.

The Anglo-Bavarian Auberge looks over the Marsamuscetto Harbour opposite the rampart now called English Curtain commanding a wide view of the sea.

Following the custom of the other auberges the flag of the corporation was hoisted on top of the building. In terms of the law re-constituting the Langue, the Bavarian escutcheon was to be attached to the left of the English escutcheon on the standard of the Langue. The addition of the Priorate of Poland to the Langue, on the 21st June 1785, ratified by the Council on the 8th of July, did not modify the seal, flag and arms of the Auberge, but the Poles were allowed to hoist their own national flag on the front of the building. At the right corner, the Anglo-Ba-

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(1) Vol. 640. Indenture Chamber of accounts an. 1780-2. f. 364; Vol. 162. Lib. Cons. an. 1782-3 f. 129.

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varian ensign, at the left, the Polish ensign, and in the middle the ensign of the Order, with that of the Grand Master on its left.

The Priorate of Poland, by the convention of the 4/15 January 1797, became a Grand Priorate of Russia. The devices and armorial bearings of the Anglo-Bavarian Langue were now made to surmount the two-headed eagle with the Imperial crown of Russia. (1)

The auberge buildings, that still exist in Valletta in all their pristine magnificence, attest, in E. I. Bell's words, (2) the lordly ideas of their builders. The remains of the Auberge of the Tongue of England at Rhodes, reproduced by Col. Rottiers (3), with its coat-of-arms and inscription, show the English on a par with their foreign colleagues when the Tongue was in its full vitality.

These inns were intended not only for the residence of the Brethren, but also for the reception of pilgrims and strangers of distinction, who might in their wanderings demand hospitality. They were accordingly given ample dimensions, and thus set the key for Maltese buildings in general.

The banqueting-hall of the Auberge de Provence—90 ft. long, 56 ft. wide and 45 ft. high—is a fair sample of the refectory or common-room of these old inns. In plan the auberges were arranged round a central court, the apartments on each side being approached by galleries or cloisters on the four sides. The court-yards were brightened by orange trees, their blossoms' filling the air with fragrance. The halls, staircases, approaches

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(1) *See* Convention in F. De Salles, Annales de l'Ordre de Malte, Vienne, 1889, pp. 392 95; vol. 2196 'Priorato di Russia' P.R.M.

(2) An Architects Notes in Malta. (The Builder, March 28th, 1885).

(3) Monumens de Rhodes, Bruxelles 1830, Planches 11, 48, 53; Billiotti-Cottoret, l'Ile de Rhodes, Rhodes, 1881, p. 519.

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and domestic accessories were all on a magnificent scale, and produced a marked effect upon all beholders. (1) On the ground-floor, or within its area, each auberge contained all necessary store-rooms and dependencies rendering it almost independent of outside help. Not only had each mansion its own bakery and yard, it had also its mill, worked by a mule or a horse, to grind the corn, (2) its wheat and food stores, its cellar, canteen (3), slaughter-house (4), stables, and, as far as possible, its kitchen-garden. The plan of the Auberge of Italy, we here reproduce, may serve as an illustration of the style adopted for the auberges in Malta.

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(1) I. B. Bell—*l. c.*; Dr: Church, Dean of St. Paul's, reported in A. S. Flower, Notes on Renaissance Architecture in Malta, London, 1897 «the separate auberges of the different nations or 'languages' of the Order are as grand as they can be, all of the sixteenth century: a rich and somewhat heavy and barbaric Italian or Palladian, but of very noble proportions.»

(2) «Statuerunt quod quelibet Albergia conventus unum molendinum ad equum et mandaverunt magistro scutifero ut faciat preacepta per dictas albergias ut quaelibet per totum mensem Januari proximum habent in effectum unum ex dictis molendinis molens.» Vol. 82. L.C. 1512-16 f. 159t. The Minute Book of the Langue of Italy registers, on the 10th. Jan. 1711, the orders for the renewal of the mill-stones which were under the Auberge, and on the 28th. Nov. 1712 the removal of the wheel-mill from the cellar facing S. James' church. Vol 2137 P.R.M.—The mill and bakery of the Auberge of Italy were placed in the cellar in front of the church of Our Lady of Victory.

(3) The Public was excluded from the Canteen after the Conspiracy of the Slaves in 1749, and by the Genl. Chapter of 1776.—vol. 1661 f. 200; vol. 6393 Miscell. Status. The canteen or tavern of the Italian Inn was at the corner of Sda. Mercanti with Sda. Britannica vol. 2137, 21st. May 1720, P.R.M.

(4) The Pope's Nuncio in Malta, Mgr. Salviati, claimed a similar privilege, to slaughter animals in his own Palace, following the example of the Auberges; the Grand Master, to stop the practice, admonished the Nuncio's butcher. Ms. 12 f. 135. M.P.L. The Italian Langue on the 23rd March 1596, ordered the setting up of stables for oxen kept by the Pilier for the use of the Auberge. The stables were on the Sda. Zaccaria side of the block.

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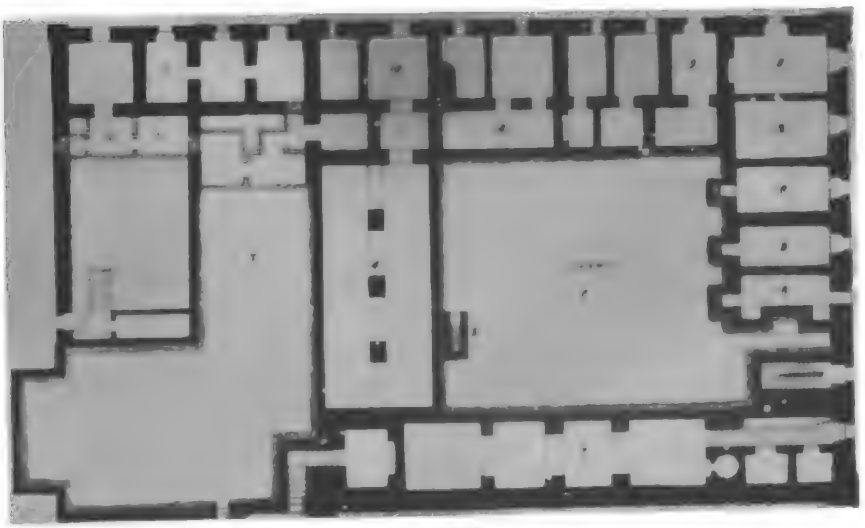
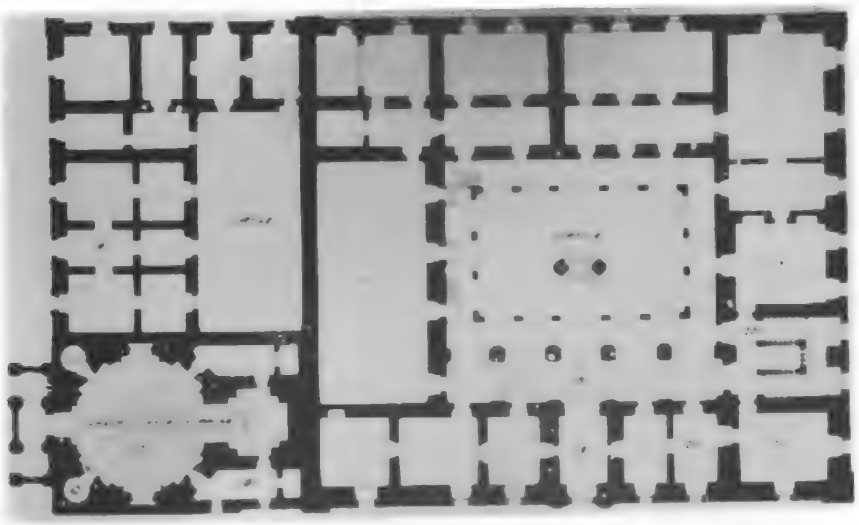
AUBERGE D'ITALIE



1. Mill room
2. Ovens
3. Yard in 1617
4. Blacksmith work-shop
5. Steps leading to workshop. 1582
6. Water tank
7. Bakery
8. Stables and Coach-houses
9. Workshops
10. Oil store magazine
11. Cowshed

Basement



14. Quarters for Kts. built in 1629
15. Church of Saint Catherine
16. Vestry
17. Dining hall
18. Main entrance
19. Lobby
20. The-Congregazione delle Galere's meeting hall
21. Drawing room
22. Mainstairs to upper quarters.

Ground floor of the Auberge and its Church.

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The edifices were built on the lines laid down on the 14th. October 1562 and 12th. May 1569 for Vittoriosa and Valletta. Each house had to be provided with a well or cistern proportionate to its size for its water-supply, and with a cess-pool communicating with the town main-drain (1). The groined roofs adopted in later years in all ground-floors or «rez de chausses» of buildings in Valletta, at the suggestion of the Engineers J. R. Tignè and Bourlamagne (2), were similar to those adopted in the Auberges, the Magisterial Palace, and the Infirmary since their first erection.

Of course when the Auberges came to be built in Valletta they must have undergone, in their general structure, various modifications in the plans previously adopted in Rhodes; such modifications were due to the progress made in the system of town defence. To meet the exigencies of the population living within the fortress, Government granaries or corn silos were excavated in public places within the town walls, as described by R. R. Marston (3); wind-mills were set up on S. Angelo Castle, and, later, on the Valletta bastion, on the landside, a street leading to which still retains the name of «Mulini a Vento» (4); the Government bakery was enlarged (deposits were created); oil (5) and several grounds and bastions surrounding Valletta were used as kitchen gardens,—These latter

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(1) Vol. 91 L. C. an. 1561-7 f. 66 P.R.M.; Bosio, Historia an. 1569 p. 832 «Che ognuno fosse tenuto di fare almeno una cisterna in casa sua ed un luogo per le necessità ed immonditie sue. Che nel fondamento delle case lasciar si dovesse luogo e apertura per far condotto, che andasse al gran condotto della strada, nel qual condotto andassero tutte le bruttezze di casa sua.»

(2) Vol. 271 L.C.S. 1755-63 f. 249-254. All ground-floor-roofs of buildings were to be vaulted with a thickness of four spans at the centre.

(3) War, famine and food supply, London 1897 pp. 120-123.

(4) Bosio p. 3 f. 352 records that a Vincent Di Giovanni of Palermo introduced in 1555 in Malta a sort of mill worked by a mule in a room 24 × 36 maltese spans, giving in 24 hours four salms of flour.

(5) Amongst others Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena made an oil reservoir at Floriana cut in the rock of a capacity of 8,000 kaffisi.

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proved of great convenience to the French republicans in 1798 when blockaded in Valletta.

In 1662, in the absence of an Auberge of the Tongue of England, John Ray the naturalist, after his resignation of the chair he held at Trinity College, Oxford, and his disciples, Francis Willoughby, the zoologist, and Sir Philip Skippon, were honourably entertained in the French Auberges(1) And the sons of Charles I and of James II, on their arrival in Malta in 1687, were offered special apartments in the Grand Master's Palace (2).

Auberge Furniture.

The French Government officials who took charge of the Maltese national property, in a report to their chief, give particulars of the furniture existing in the Anglo-Bavarian Auberge, and of the way it was being disposed of in 1798, after the departure of the Knights from this island.—

«Le 3. Thermidor, an. 6.—Au Commissaire du Gouvernement.—Nous vous informons, Citoyen Commissaire, que des Officiers de la garnison ayant été logés au premier ètage de l'hotel de Baviere, ont a leur service un nomme' Joseph Spintler, Allemand, ci devant bouteiller a la même Auberge; il a été disposë d'une partie de mobilier, batterie de cuisine, linge de table & pour l'usage de quelques personnes employés en premier ligne, au service public, comme le Général Dentzel et autres,

Spintler a vu de mauvais oeil de garnir cette maison ou sans doute il se proposoit de faire des profits il se mit a vendre tous ce qu'il à pû come bois de chauffage, poutres, rideaux et portieres de taffetas, une fontaine de cuivre de valeur, la boiserie demonte' d'une grande chapelle etc. le tout a tres vil prix; il est dans la disposition de vendre encore le reste, il a menacé, avec un coûteau, le Donat qui lui refusoit des clefs qu'il demandoit, et l'a contraint par la crainte qui lui a inspiré; aller chercher asile pendant la nuit avec sa famille, dans une autre maison.

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(1) Dict. of Nat. Biography v. 62 p. 55; v. 47 p. 339.—Churchill, Collection of voyages vol. VI.

(2) Vol. 263 L. C. S. 1687-92 ff. 48t. 1st. December 1687.

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Les officiers qui employent a leur service a Spintler sont les Citoyens Rougeul et Serrade.

Un de Nous va se transporter a' l'Auberge de Baviere pour faire inventaire de ce qui reste, mais il faut pour cela que les pieces occupées par ces officiers soient ouvertes il faut donc qu'un ordre du Général les oblige de se tenir chez-eux demain a dix heures de matin ou qu'ils y laissent quelqu'un qui tient les lieux ouverts.

Il faudroit de plus que Spintler dut rendre compte de ce qu'il vendu et que les particuliers qui ont acheté de lui a vil prix fussent contraints de rendre ce qu'ils ont achetè, il seroit peut être utile que ce compte fut rendu a la justice elle même qui recevroit les declarations du Donat et autres personnes sur les effects vendus.

Si vous approuvez ce parti, vous aurez la bonté d'en faire la dénonciation; si vous en indiquez une mellieur, nous nous empresserons de le suivre.» (1)

Early references to the furniture of the English Auberge are very scarce. The Grand Prior William Weston presented to it a dinner service described on the 10th of December 1534: « one garnysshe of pranier (?) vessell, that is to say XII platters, XII dysshes and XII sawcers which was given unto the tonge by ye said Lord of Seint Johns fr. Wylliam Weston ». (2)

The silver plate of the Auberge is entered in an indent on the Tongue's Minute-Book, and the coats-of-arms on the different pieces indicate the knights who had presented them or had owned them before; viz—two Sir William Westons, Sir John Boswell, Sir William Darell, Sir Thomas Sheffeld, Sir Robert Pemberton, Sir Henry Barnaby, Sir Henry Bouth, Sir Lancelot Docwrey or Docwra—

«Thys indent wytnesseyth how ye fyrst day of July ye yer of o.r lord god 1527 in p.rsens of sir John rawson tu:rcoplyer ser wyllam weston lord pr.or of saynt Johns

(1) Ms. 527 M.P.L.
(2) Ms. 955 f. 18 M.P.L.

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in yngland & other dyverse gentylmen of ye. tong of yngland the sylver plate belongyng to ye arbage of the same was weyd by one goldsmythe by p.seal as foloythe—In primis y bason of sylver wt. f. John boswell armys late turcoplyer weying marks IX unc. ii. Item one ewar pownsyd with ye said arms weying m.rks V unc. I. Item one basyn of sylver w.th f. wylliam darell arms late turcoplyr weying mrks VII unc VII,—Itt iii pecys of sylver w.th f. wylliam weston armys late turcoplyer weying mrks VIII. Itt pesse of sylver w.th f. Thomas Sheffeld arms late baylly of ye Egle weying marks I. unc. vii. It one pesse of sylver w.th f. lancelott docwa's arms weying mks iii unc. It one pesse of sylver w.t f. robert pemberton arms weing mks ii unc ii d. I. Itt ii pessys of sylver w.t henry barnabys armys weynig mks vi unc. vi.—Ittm one playn pesse of sylver w.tout arms weinge mark iii unc. I d. I.—Itt one playn pesse of sylver with Sir John boswell armys late torcoplar weying marks i. unc. iii.—Itm one gylt pesse of sylver w.t a cover with f. John boswells armys late turcoplyer weying marks iii unc. iii. Itm ii pychers of sylver of dyverse facions weying marks 'vi unc. vi. Itt vi tronchers of sylver weying marks viii. Itt xii spoonys of sylver weing marks i unc. vii. Itt iiii small round falkts of sylver pzt. gylt weying marks ii.—Itt one frke of sylver geven by my lord of Saynt Johns f. wyllam weston weyng unc. i. large—all wyche the aforesayd parsells of plate was delyvered by the forsayd torcoplyer f. John Rawson to the hands and custody of ser Edwarde Roche comander of templebrwer and levetenent turcoplyer to kepe to ye usse of y.e aforsyd arbage and tong. In wytness of ye trowthe ye aforsayed torcoplyer and levetenant torcoplyer ent chaungeabely have subscrbyd y.r namys ye day and yer a forsayd.—Ita est f. Rawson turcoplier manu ppia.» (1)

The silver basin and jar with the arms of Sir John Boswell, the first mentioned on the indent, was taken out of the Tongue's safe and pawned, for fifty scudi, on the 11th.

(1) Ms. 955 f. 102t.

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July 1548, with Stannet Galante, the Banneret. It was subsequently recovered with part of the money accrued to the Tongue from the spoils of Sir Nicholas Upton in 1551. (1)

An inventory of the linen, copper utensils and furniture, taken on the 12th of January 1559, leaves a very poor impression of the state to which the Tongue had been reduced at that date: «An inventory wrytten the XII of January 1559 of all thyse stuffe as was left in the Inglyshe Alberge beyng pyllow (Pilier) the same tyme syr henry jerard commander of yeverly and barow—Napery—In primis tabell clothes which wer bought...2. Item towells whiche stannet the banderer gave to the tounge...2. Pewter: Item pewter trenchers VIII—Item dyssers of a smaler size V—Item of a greater size II—It.m a laten candelstyk I—It.m a laten pot for to sethe meat I—It.m a brass kettell I—It.m a frynge pann I—It.m a gredeyrer I—It.m ii spyttes II—It.m a payr of knyves—It.m ii chayers II.

Md. gyven by fr. henry Jered the same day to the tounge as folowyth—It.m a short tabell I—It.m a benche framed of border I—It.m a stoole of bordes framed...I. » (2)

This miserable state of affairs was the consequence of the sale and dispersion of their goods and chattels at that critical juncture, notwithstanding that the Council (on 12th January 1541) had refused to comply with the request of the English Knights to be allowed to sell the property of the Auberge. (3)

Matters were somewhat improved, however, by acquisitions from spoils of the English knights dying in Malta, and through purchases made out of the grant of Cardinal Pole already referred to.

The Bali of Eagle, Felizes, died fighting during the siege, and Starkey, on 15th. December 1565, asked on behalf of the

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(1) Ms. 955 f. 105.

(2) Ms. 955 f. 99t.

(3) Vol. 91. L.C. 1561-7 f. 154.

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Tongue for certain of the articles belonging to his spoils «super aubis sive tapetis corii» and for his utensils. (1)

It was due to this reversion to the Order and Auberges of the private property of distinguished knights resident in Malta that Count George Albert of Erbach and his suit had occasion to admire, in 1617, the fine collections of arms and works of art of all kinds in the «Auberge d'Alemagne» with its beautiful apartments, which were considered to be as good as a piece of their old home (2).

That the state furniture of the Auberge meeting-halls and dining-rooms must have affected a tone of severity may be gathered from an inventory of the furniture of the Auberge of Italy in 1645. The head of the Langue sat on an arm-chair of blue velvet bordered with fringes, with a carpet and foot-stool for his feet, and on the wall behind him hang a piece of cloth bearing the coat-of-arms of the Langue. There was a bench and writing-desk for the procurator and for the secretary of the Langue; two other benches fourteen spans long, and twelve benches six spans long, with their back supports and stools in front covered with cloth, eight pieces of tapestry and two friezes on the door and on the window, four curtains with armorial bearings and the portrait of the reigning Grand Master. Such was the furniture of the meeting-hall. The dining-hall contained— a wainut table with four square legs for the senior Knights, four chairs of imperial walnut for the Seniors, seven other tables with their respective benches for the juniors, two side-tables for the use of the servants, a cupboard, wash-stand, two pictures (St. John and the founder B. Gerard) a pewter chandelier; a brass hanging-lamp, with its shade hung in the middle of the hall; curtains and carpets (3).

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(1) Vol. 86. L.C. 1535-43 f. 104.

(2) The adventures of Count George Albert of Erbach by Beatrice Princess H. of Battenberg from the German of E. Kraus, London 1891 p. 88.

(3) Vol. 6230 Miscellanea f. 5., P.R.M.

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The Auberge was not the only place of meeting of the Tongue of England. A special military 'Post,' a Chapel, a Play-ground, and even a Galley, were likewise connected with its members and a sort of dependency of the Auberge. The 'Post' of the Tongue

In Valletta the St. Lazarus Platform, with all the works between Strada Cristoforo and St. Lazarus down to St. Elmo, were specially reserved to the Tongue, by decision of a Council-meeting held in the small church of Our Lady of Victory on the 14th of August 1573. (1) Part of these ramparts so allotted are to this day called « The English Curtain. » The British escutcheon there placed (2) showed by whom those bastions were to be manned and defended in emergencies. This was also the ground on which the Brethren held their military exercises after the transfer of the Convent from Birgu to Valletta. Whilst the Convent was in the former town the Tongue likewise had a section of the fortifications assigned to them, between the Post of Castile and the Infirmary. During the great siege of 1565 the English knights, however, were too few for its defence. They thus lost an opportunity of gaining distinction, such as they previously had in the defence of their post at Rhodes, during the celebrated sieges of 1480 and 1522 by the Turks (3). In 1565, out of 600 knights, the Tongue

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(1) Ms. Scritture di Stato della religione vol. XI. *Cathed. Archives*.

(2) On the 19th. July 1513 a general resolution was approved by the Council of the Order with regard to the national ensign of each realm, in consequence of the example set by the French Langues who affixed the Fleur de Lys on their ramparts. «Ordinaverunt quod quaelibet veneranda Lingua sit in sua libertate ponendi arma suorum regnorum in sua posta.» Vol. 82. L. C. 1512-16. f. 77t.

(3) Taaffe, The Knights of the Order of St. John, London 1852; Porter, History of the Knights. The Posts at Rhodes were assigned on 3rd Feb. 1464. «La langue d'engleterre tient la poste que commence a la dite tour d'espagne contant et comprise la dite tour iusque a la tour de Sainte Marie non comprendant le de dessi de icelle tour que tient la langue d'aragon, mais bien les dessoubs et magasin d'icelle tour avec le boulevert d'englaterre muralle barbaquenne hault et bas estants entre les ditte deux termes, reserve la particion d'icelle

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of England was only represented by Sir Oliver Starkey and P. Felizes de la Nuça, appointed Bailiff of Eagle by Philip and Mary at the restoration of 1557. So that the 'Post' of England, like that of Germany, had to be manned by the sailors and soldiers of the galleys. (1) Two other Englishmen are known to have been in Malta during that siege, Edward Stanley and John Evans Smith, but they were not members of the Order. De la Nuça was killed in action during the defence of Fort St. Michael, and Starkey stood by the side of La Valette, who appointed him his secretary. Sir Richard Schelley, then Prior of England, had the chagrin, while on his way to Malta, of finding himself compelled to remain at Naples unable to move.

The Langues prided on improving and embellishing their 'Posts'. The Upper Barracca, the 'Post' of the Langue d'Italie, and the Lower Barracca at the Harbour entrance, the 'Post' of the Langue de Castile, still bear testimony to the efforts made by those Langues to adorn their 'Posts'.

On the ramparts, works and galleys assigned to them, the knights were trained in the discipline of arms, in military command, and in practising what they learnt in the schools of mathematics, fortification, artillery, horsemanship and nautics. It was there that they acquired skill in marksmanship,—a discipline specially prescribed to them, (2)

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tour de Saincte Marie de la quelle come dict est, le dessus tient la langue d'Aragon et le bas tient Engleterre.» Ms. 949. Lib. Conc. an. 1459-69. f. 145 M.P.L. *See* also G. S. Picenardi, Itineraire dans l'Ile de Rhodes, 1900 p. 41-43.

(1) C. Samminiatelli Zabarella, L'Assedio di Malta, Torino 1902 pp. 166; Fr. Balbi de Correggio, Relacion que el anno de MDLXV ha succedido en la isla de Malta, Barcellona (Pedro Reigner) 1568. «La posta de Inglaterra, por la ausencia del Turcpiller teneo cargo della—fra y Olivier Estarquei, y porque desta lengua no havia cavalleros, el gran Maestre le dio gente Maltesa, y Griegos, para guardarla, no obstante que de ditio muy fuerte.»

(2) It was laid down by the standing rules that each knight had to attend at military practice and shooting at least three times a week Vide Council Decrees 28th. Jan. 1653 and 16th. August 1658.

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neglect of which was subject to various penalties, and efficiency in which was rewarded. It had been ordered at Rhodes that any knight who failed to attend at the «lobia», circus or Castle esplanade, to train himself in wrestling and target practice, forfeited a part of his dinner. (1) At Malta, in 1578, a *Jewel* or monthly prize was awarded for proficiency in wrestling and marksmanship. (2) Indeed such of the probationers as proved inefficient in military exercises, or showed themselves to be otherwise unfit, were not allowed to remain in the Convent but were sent back to their homes (3).

The Tongue's Chapel.

The Chapel in the Conventual Church of St. John originally destined for the Venerable Tongue of England was the fourth to the right of the high altar. The Chapter General of 1603 allowed the Langue of Germany to occupy that chapel on condition that it should revert to its original patronage should the Tongue of England be re-established. (4)

But once that chapel had been adorned and embellished at the expense of the Langue and Knights of Germany and Bohemia it was no longer possible or convenient to take it back from them, and, on the revival of the Tongue under the designation of the Anglo-Bavarian Langue, the Chapel

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(1) Stabilimènta Rhodiorum militum, Matriti 1534,—De Fratribus §. 47.

(2) Decreta Concilii 28 Jan. 1653.

(3) Vol. 120 L.C. 1657.58 f. 190.

(4) Vol. 294. Cap. Gen. 1603, De Ecclesia fol. 77. «Ven. linguae Alemaniae pro ea postulantibus et acceptantibus... concesserunt capellam quae hodie est clausa ad usum conservandi paramenta et bona sacrestiae; quae est quarta in parte dextra ipsius ecclesiae: sub hac tamen expressa declaratione et pacto inito et concesso ad instantiam vendi et dominorum frum. Andreae Wisse Angliae Prioris et Lanfranci Ceba Procuratoris Illmi. ac Ven. D. fris. Don Petri Gonçales de Mendoça Hiberniae Prioris, quod cum primum Dño. Deo placuerit quod ven. lingua Angliae reconciliata gremio s.ctae Matris Ecclesiae reversa et reintegrata fuerit Ordini et Conventui ñro. p.ta ven. lingua Alemaniae cedit et cedere debeat eidem ven. linguae angliae, utpote magis praeeminenti, dictam capellam.»

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of St. Charles, which is near that of the Langue of Provence, was assigned to it. On special occasions its Brethern were to use the Oratory dedicated to the Decollation of St. John, opposite the Vestry, owing to the restricted room available in their Chapel of St. Charles. (1)

The escutcheons and armorial bearings of the Langues and their Knights, decorating the chapels assigned to each legion, show the interest each legion took in its own particular chapel. Even the benches, still extant, used by the knights, bore on them the coat-of-arms of the Langue to which they belonged. Whilst the old Tongue of England had still some vitality left in it, the church in use for common and particular religious practices was the church of St. Lawrence at Vittoriosa. That church has since been modified and rebuilt, so that no traces remain there of the Langues who made use of it.

As a link of the English knights with La Valette, the hero of the siege of 1565, a slab was placed, after the British occupation, in the Grand Masters' crypt in St. Johns, to the memory of Sir Olivier Starkey, the last English Turcopilier of the Tongue of England.

With a view to promote the moral welfare of the English members of the Order, the Provincial Chapter held in London on 7th. March 1529 laid down that one or two English priests

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(1) Vol. 273, L.C.S. an. 1773 83 f. 282—Council decree of the 9th. April 1782. The Oratory, built in 1603, owes its ornamentation, Preti's pictures and its beautiful carved roof together with a handsome legacy for its service and maintenance to one of the titular Priors of England, S. M. Lomellini. Lomellini obtained this dignity on the 19th June 1654 whilst in command of the Pope's galleys. He ceased to be Prior of England in 1685 on his obtaining the Priory of Venice, in possession of which he died on the 7th. September 1699.—B. dal Pozzo, Historia. Verona 1703 — Caravaggio's impressive canvas, which covers the whole of the wall behind the altar and represents the beheading of St. John, and Favray's lunette over the door representing the relic of the hand of St. John offered by the Sultan to D'Aubusson had no connection with Lomellini's donations.

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ZIZIMI PRESENTING THE RELIC OF ST. JOHN
TO GRAND MASTER D'AUBUSSON

From a painting by Favray in St. John's Church, Valletta

D'AUBUSSON MEETING ZIZIMI IN RHODES — A. D. 1482.

School of Joseph D'Arpino—1620. Painting in the Palace of the Grandmasters—Valletta

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should reside in Malta for the service of the Tongue, and especially for the benefit of young knights who could not speak any language but their own. Benefices belonging to the Priorate of London, to the Commandery of Dalby and Rothley in Lincoln, to the Commandery of Slebeche, and to other commanderies where set aside for the installation and maintenance of the said priests,—as may be seen in detail in the deed drawn up for the purpose on the 16th. of June 1530, transmitted to the Turcopilier Sir John Babington and entered in the book of assemblies of the Tongue. (16).

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(16) Frater Willms Weston prior hospitalis santi Joannis herlm in Anglia ac Rmi. in Xpo patris et Dñi Dñi fris Philippi de Villiers Liladam in prioratu dicti hospitalis locumtenens venerando ac predilecto fri. meo Joanni Babyngton sacri ordinis hirlm. Turcopulerio et ven.bus fratibus meis linguae ac nationis angliae in conventu dicti ordinis existentibus salutem. Cum in capitulo provinciali celebrato Londini septimo die mensis marcii anno dñi ab Incarnatione mill.mo quingen.mo vicesimo octavo propositum et allegatum fuit p non nullos in eodem capitulo existen. qd. inhonestum ac indecorum videbatur, nec non rellgionis instituto omnino alienum linguam ac nationem nostram anglicam non habere vel unum aut duos sacerdotes anglos qui eidem nationi ad divina servirent et tyronum maxime qui praeter suam vulgarem nullam poenitus aliam linguam calleant confessiones more christi fidelium audiant et eisdem alia quoque sacramenta pro tempore administrent. Nos vero maximopere optantes ut nostrae nationis militibus in sua receptione tyrocinio nichil quod vel ad animarum perfectionem pertineat deesse possit cupientes etiam predicta inhonestum ac indecorum perenniter aboleri maturo ac deliberato tractatu premisso de consensu et assensu ac auctoritate capituli nostri predicti constituimus et ordinamus atque unum aut duos dominos sacerdotes qui expresse Religionem nostram vovere ac profiteri debeant supradictis ac etiam aliis de causis in Conventu Religionis nostrae habendos ac retinendos perpetuo decernimus et ut honestius ac decentius dicti sacerdotes sint in officiis deservire possint similibus assensu ac consensu pariterque auctoritate capituli nri. predicti quaedam beneficia ecclesiastica eisdem quoties vacaverint conferenda et assignanda dedimus. Nomine vero beneficiorum similium expressione nominum preceptoriarum qui ea ipsa beneficia auctoritate saepefati capituli concesserunt inferius exprimenda duximus. In primis.

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At the confiscation of the property of the Order, during the religious cataclysm, fr. Claude Jobelin of the Tongue of England was invested by La Valette with the Chaplaincy of Our Lady of Victory in Valletta. This results from a petition of the 10th. Dec. to the Chapter General of 1569. (17)

Jobelin, on the 21st August 1570, acquired a plot of land in the 36th quarter of Valletta to build himself a house thereon. In 1574 the Chapter General conferred on him the Commandery of S. Magdalen of Dijion in the Priorate of Champagne, and dispensed him, on the 20th June 1578, from residence in his Commandery, to enable him to remain in Malta in the service of the members of his Tongue. (18)

W. Weston prior { Balisia de Woddam, London Diocesis / Balisia de Haderington, Lincoln Dioces. } Prioratus.

J. Babington Turcopulerius { Bālia de Buckmynster / Bālia de Asshaby pva } Lyncoln praeceptorie de Dalby et Rothley

Clemens West preceptor { Bālia de Russilie / ,, Lytterston / ,, Chireton } Meneven. Dioc. preceptorie de Slebythe.

R. Boydell - perptor — Bālia de Kyngton, Sary. Dioc. perceptorie de Badysley et Mayne

Egidio Russell—Bālia de Conysgrave, Lincoln Dioc. perceptorie de Basfode et Dyngly

N. Hussey—perptor — Bālia de Cleanger (Cleyangar) Bathon Dioc. preceptorie de Temple Combe

In cujus rei testimonium sigilum nrum. ac arma presentibus est affixum. Dat. Londini in prioratu nro. Die decimosexto Junii anno Dñi millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo.

joannes Babyngton turceplerius & Cr.—fr. nychollas heussey—sir john sutton—fr. edwarde belygem—fr. thomas copuldyke—fr. edward browne—fr. thomas dyngley—fr. Henry poole—fr. Rychard broke—fr. Wylliam tyrell—fr. Antony Bentham—fr. Thomas Cavdyssh. Ms. 955. f. 11. M.P.L.

(17) Vol. 289—Cap. Gen 1569 f. 92. P.R.M.

(18) Vol. 94 L.C. 1574-77 ff. 19 and 33, Vol 95 L.C. 1577-1581 f. 86.

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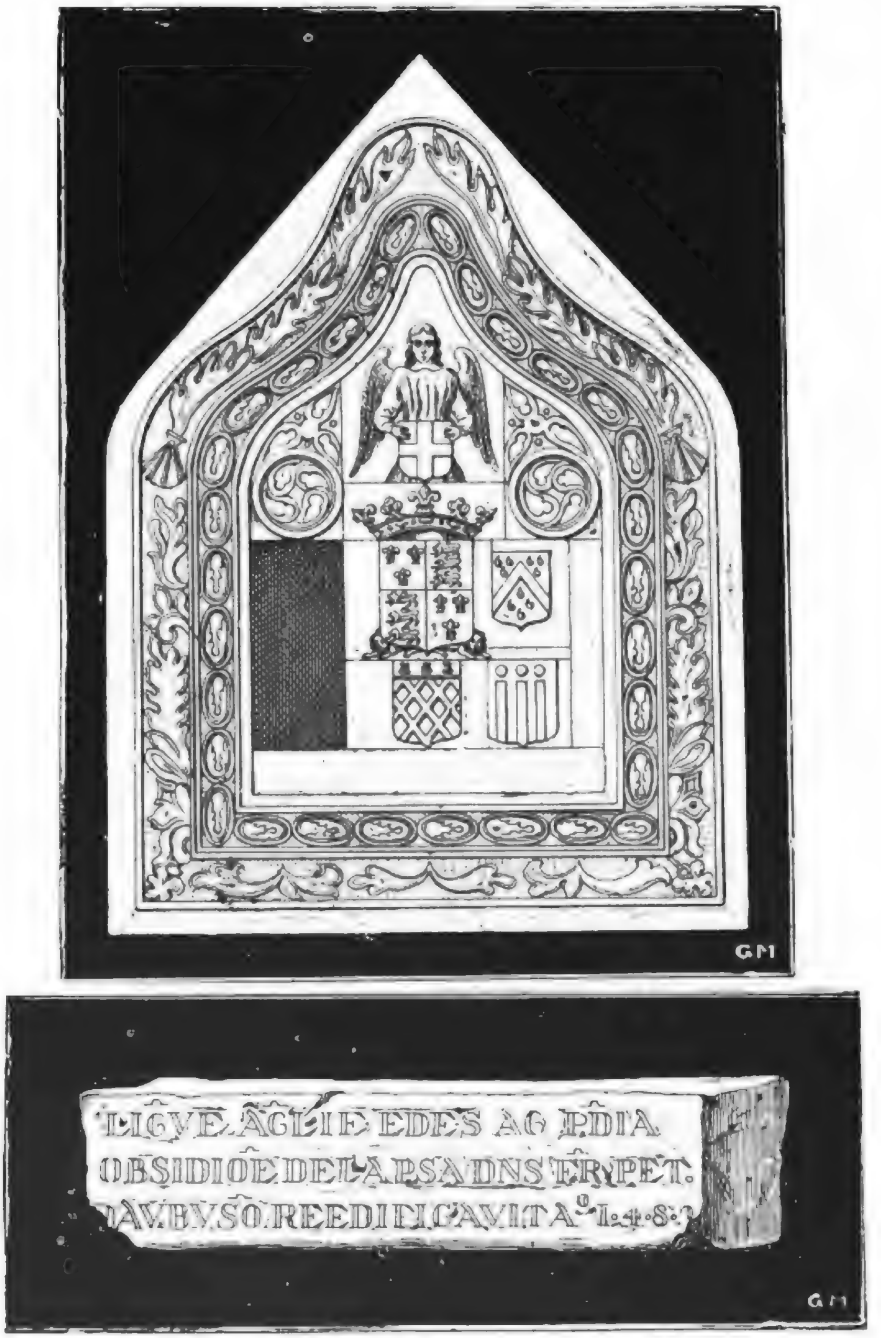

Coat of arms and slab showing the Auberge d'Angleterre in Rhodes restored in 1484. (From Rottiers.)

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A description of a chapel of the Tongue of England at Rhodes easily accessible from the English Auberge is given by Baron de Belabre. (1) The whole of its walls and vaulted ceiling were decorated with frescoes. St. George, in armour of the second half of the fourteenth century as well as the Tongue's escutcheon over the recess where the altar once's stood are still visible. Another chapel in the Street of the Knights at Rhodes bears to its connection with the Tongue of England and is referred to by the same auther. A marble stab fixed on the wall of this chapel displays, amongst others, the escutcheon of the Tongue of England. (2)

The galley of the Tongue.

It would appear that one of the galleys was particularly reserved to Tongue of England, at least as much may be inferred from the caravan of Sir Edward Brown, Sir Thomas Thornhill, and Sir James Hussey, who, «the 2 day of april 1540, tawke apone them to make carwants in the galley of o.r towng» (3). Elsewere, in the registers of the Council, under the 2nd. of February 1535 reference is made to the ship sent to England whose return was awaited. (4) Was this the vessel of the Tongue? So early as the year 1251, (November 8th.) King Henry, III writing to G. Langley, Judge of the Royal Forests in England, refers to debts due by the Grand Prior of England for Hospitaller vessels. (5) Probably the galley was considered to be the galley of the Tongue, where of the captain was an English Knight, and who in accordance with custom had to defray its expense helped to a great extent by the Common Treasury.

Sir Thomas Docray, who died Grand Prior of England, during his generalship of the galleys, obtained on the 28th

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(1) Rhodes of the Knights, Oxford 1908, pp. 90-92 and 135.

(2) Ibi p. 110.

(3) Ms. 955. f. 31t. M.P.L.

(4) Vol. 85 L. C. an. 1526-25. f. 124t.

(5) Dela ville le Roulx, Cartulaire II p. 715.

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June 1495, at Rhodes (1), had acquired such prestige and reputation that at the subsequent Magisterial election he was one vote short of his successful competitor L'Isleadam. (2) In 1537 Sir Nicholas Upton was the patron or captain of the great galleon in terms of the designation given him, on the 20th October of that year, in the licence he obtained to return to England. (3) After him, on the 28th October 1538, Sir William Tyrrell commanded under the same title the said galleon taking it direct to Marseilles carrying important despatches, and with orders on return to bring victuals to Malta. (4)

The sails of the galleys of the Order, were, at the time, distinguishable by their colour. They were of scarlet cloth of pomegranate hue. We learn this from an order for the purchase of such sail cloth given to the knight Antonio Bosio on 23rd January 1528, on his proceeding to England. A writer in 1797 (probably the Knight Dolomieu) tells us that at his time «Les voiles des galères sont paiées de rouge et de blanc et ont dans le milieu les armes de l'Ordre» (5).

Finance.

Auberges had their particular resources. Grants made by the Provincial Chapters of their respective langues, fees paid by members on their entrance, on attaining majority or seniority in the Auberge, called vice-arnaldage, on obtaining pensions, commanderies, promotions, dignities ; then also received presents called «jewels,» by members securing good billets, and rents of houses, gardens and lands placed within these islands pertaining to the Langue.

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(1) Vol. 209. Decreta Concili. f. 13t.

(2) I. Fontanus, De bello Rhodio, Roma 1524.

(3) Vol. 416 L. B. 1534-37 f. 159 «patronus nostri galeonis» which according to ancient usage corresponded to the generalship of the galleys.

(4) Vol. 417 L. B. 1537-42 f. 255.

(5) Malthe, Corse, Minorque et Gibraltar en 1797. It is there also stated 'La galère capitane porte le pavilion blanc; qui est toujours arboré au balcon du général de galères qui demeure sur le port des galéres.

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Besides the fixed annual grant passed for the ordinary needs of the Auberge out of the funds of the Langue, the Provincial Chapters occasionally made further grants. Thus as regards the English Tongue, under date the 10th. December 1534, we read: «the right worshipfull fr gylis russell delyvered in to the tonge sc xxxv whiche by my lord of seint Johns and the chapitre p.vinciall was geven unto the tonge,» (1) further on mentioning the dinner service already refered to in speaking of the furniture. On the revival of the Tongue, under the denomination of Anglo-Bavarian Langue, ten per cent of the rents of the commanderies was assigned, on the 22nd. October 1784, towards the up-keep and expenses of the Auberge, Chapel and Tongue (2). And when the Russian Priorate was annexed to the Langue it was laid down that a capital of ten-thousand scudi should be invested in the Massa Frumentaria of Malta for the ordinary repairs of the Auberge, over and above other four or five thousand required to provide increased accommodation. (3)

The fees due by the members of the Anglo-Bavarian Langue to the Auberge on admission and promotion, were established and determined as soon as the mansion was opened, (4) whilst those formerly due in the Tongue of England are entered in the Tongue's Minute-Book. The fees were: six, or five, or three scudi on admission, 20 on obtaining a commandery, or less if the member only obtained a dependency annexed to a commandery. Other fees and dinners were to be paid for other passages.

Under the heading «Passes and Dynners» the following payments are noted:—Md. that the 26. day of m.rche 1524. M. baylly of the egyll & seneshall fr. thomas scheffeld hasse payd for hys 2 pesses & dynners for hys dygnite of the beylyage of the egyll fo. 31 and halff and for hys comandre

(1) Ms. 955 f. 18. M.P.L.
(2) Vol. 163 L. Con. 1784-85 f. 73t.
(3) Vol. 2196. Priorato di Russia P.R.M.
(4) Vol. 163 f. 125—18th January 1785.

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of grace of dynmore for a pesse and a dynner fo. 20. / aft. the custom payd in the rods (*) viz. fo. xi ½ for the pesse & fo. viii ½ for hys dyner. / in toto fo. 51 ½. / d.cts...25./—Md. that the xx daye of february 1525. these gentylmen followyng payd for ther pesses and dynners dew to the tong by their vyzarald dage, as folloythe, at fo. xx for a man vz. thomas lee--f wyllyam drycotts—f james babyngton—f blase vyllerfe—f robert daleson—f thoms copydyke--f roland whyt—f thomas cirnam (?)—f jorge edwards—f edward brane—ds....lviii joul v...Pd. the xith. day of decembre 1532 by f john sutton com.er of beverley for his commandry of grace called wyllerton ff.o xxti, —Item the same day f nich.as upton paid for his dyner and pece money for his vysarnallage xxti.—Md. at a collytt holdyng xith. day off september in the pr.sens off the ryght worshyptull f clement west trycoplyar was delyvered to the f wylym tyrryll and f nycolys upton p.ctors for the tonge by ye hands off f henry poole p.ctor for the convent bayly off the egyll f John rawson crowns xxiiiith. off the wych summ xiv florans for trycoplyarshyp gyven by ye tong and other c. xth.for the dygnyte off the boylyage off the egyll crowns xxiiii» (1).

The rent paid for the house used as Auberge, the money required to purchase and repair furniture and other articles and utensils for general use in the Auberge, Chapel or military ground; for dinner and kitchen service and linen, washing &c. were the principal items of expenditure, as may be gathered from the discharge accounts, 1525-27, that have come down to us (2).

(*) Rhodes.

(1) Ms. 955. f. 86.

(2) Ms. 925 fol. 70. M.P.L. The following are some of the items «for a pot of earthe for oyelle 2d — for iiii sponnes of wood for the kychyn 1d ..mendyng the barelle in the kechyn 2½d... coord to henge up y flesshe and other necessaries 4d... scthecyng the arms of the basen of antone gyffre 3 jul... 3 pots of erthe withe covrt 5d.—... pd. for besones 2½d... for a water pot for the hall 5d... wasshyng the monthe of january and february and marche 9. julii... pd. for house rent of the habarge from the 20 daye of Januario untill the 20 daye of Jugnio wc is vi monthes 9 (julii)... vi kanes canvas for

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Two members of the Auberge chosen by turn from time to time were responsible for the revenue and expenditure, and for the administration of the property of the Tongue in Malta, as well as for the safe-keeping of its gold and silver plate &c. At the end of every term two auditors examined these officers' discharge accounts previous to their being acquitted by the Tongue.

The assembly of the Tongue, on the 28th November 1530, registered its pr..curators, first chosen in Malta, in the persons of the knights Sir Thomas Dingley and Sir Richard Salford, and its first auditors of accounts Sir Cuthbert Leyton and Sir Henry Poole. On the 7th December following appears the transfer of the property of the Auberge.

« Memorandum at a collet holden ye VIIth day of desember 1530 befor m.r tercoplier sir John babington and all ye holl tonge—sr george aylmer co.r of halston and sf richerd broke knygt lat proctors of ye sayd tonge madd y.er furst accownt befor f cotbert layton and ser henry polle auditors in ryfferently chosen by ye holl tonge at wich tyme ye sayd auditors madd relacion to ye sayd mr torcoplear and al other knigts assemblyd at the same collet in dyscharging ye sayd shr george and shr rocherd broke of al mones jwellis nappery and other stofe belonging on

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the kchyn to wype dises 4 jul. 5d... 16 brasses canvas for table clothes and cobard at 10 b. le brasos 1. sc. 6 jul.—6 brasses canvas to make towells at 1.2 b. the brace 7. Jul. 2 ob.—ye 9 day of January (1527) made pact wt. o.r lander for ye wasshing of ye clothes of tong for v carlinos a monneyth as long as wynter lasts paid in hand 4 jul.—a per of vellarylla wych cost ducats of gold 2, and mayd ye same daye 4 cloths to ley at ye syds of ye bord and also mayd a large cup bord cloth—2 (scudi),— mending the forme in ye hall 4b.—hemmyng of napkyns—12b....pynyatts and broms...32,—6 trenchers of tyn weyng vi pound and halff—9 (jul) 30... pan and ynk—10;... potts for ye kychyn 24 b.; vii dyshes and iii candylstyks—2 (jul) 4 (ob.); making of o.r rowll for ye chapyter 1. (scudo); grynyng of ye knyffs in the kychyn 8d; iii glasses to drynk on—12;...caryage of ye stuff of ye tong—2 (scudi); 3 bocalls—34; 3 bocalls one grett ye other small 1. (jul); bokall for venegar...12.»

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to ye sayd tonge and charging ye sam day and tyme the new proctors ellect by ye holl tonge—vz sr Tomas dinglaye, knygt and ser richard salford knygt towching ye sylver, platt nappery and other yotensillis as ys delyvered on to y.em by inventory mad by ye sayd auditors—

Item ther was delivered on to them in money contant crowns of ye sone Sc. xxt. Item ye same day sir jon babington torcoplier payd for his ii pessis of ye torcoplier-shire florins xl. Item for his co.re of melliorment of dalbe and rothlay florins xx.—for his co.e of grace of dynmore florens—Sc. xxti and for sir tomas rawsons pesse payd by ye request of ser jon rowson florens xxte. Item by ye sayd mr. torcoplier ye same day for detts of sir gyllys rossell crowns of ye sone xxti. all which somis above reharsyd p.d by ye sayd torcoplier he browgt in a byll of rekonning yt he hadd layd owgt at sarragoza and at malta for ye sayd tonge—the wich surmountyd all ye soms above sayd so yt ye sayd tong rests in debt to ye sayd mr torcoplier on to ye some of—xiii crownis of ye sonne after recounptyd wt y torcoplyers byll above rehersyd the tong rests dett. to ye sayd trcoplyr in one ducatt fore tyrrens and thre graynys—att ye same tyme delyvrd to ye new p.ct.rs pollyces vi—amonts in ye holle Sc. xxxi of the sonne...» (1).

The proctors used their best efforts to cash what was due to the Tongue, and had at times recourse for the purpose to the power of the Grand Master and Council.—On 4th. April 1533, at the request of Sir Antony Rogiers and Sir Antony Bentham, procurators of the Tongue, the Grand Master wrote to the Prior W. Weston, his lieutenant in England, to institute proceedings, against the Prior of Ireland, Sir J. Rawson, for the sum of 100 florins; against Sir Gyles Russell for five golden 'scudi', eight 'julii' and three 'baiocchi'; and against Sir Edward Bruck jnr. for eight 'scudi', two 'tari' and thirteen 'grana', sums due by them on promotion,

(1) Ms. 955 f. 9.

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according to the customs of the Tongue and Auberge which were in great straits (quae nunc maxime gravi premitur paupertate) (1).

The administration of the proctors did not extend to the allowances for table and clothing paid by the Common Treasury of the Order to such members as did not hold a commandery with a revenue exceeding a certain amount (2), and who dined at the Auberge. These allowances were accounted for with the Turcopilier or his lieutenant.

When all dignitaries and professed members were indistinctly bound to take their meals in common, as laid down in the early statutes (3), no particular allowance was assigned to single individuals beyond, perhaps, the value of the ration, reckoned per head in the general estimate of expense of the community. The preferential treatment, equivalent in cost to a double ration of an ordinary knight, allowed to the two senior members of the Langue, was the origin of the Pilier's table being better served than the so-called 'corsia' or ordinary table.

The amount allowed to each knight for clothing and other requirements, was, by the Chapter General held by Elion de Villeneuve in 1333, put down at forty florins, and the corresponding allowance of a servant-of-arms at thirty (4).

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(1) Vol. 415 L. B. 1531-33 f. 166.

(2) Table allowance in 1450 was refused to any one who received 100 scudi rent out of any funds of the Order.

(3) Statutes enacted in 1204-1206 at Margat. Delaville, Cartulaire. no. 1193 v. II. page 36.

(4) Statutes §§ 38, 39 and 40. Ms. 338 pp. 66 67; Ms. 501 f. 109 M.P.L. « Item est estably que les freres de Couvent, aient chacun an pour eulx, et pour leurs escuyers quarante florins d'or ou la valûe, avec le pain que auront leurs e cuiers, et pecune de fers et cloux pour leurs bestes. » « Item est estably que le freres sergens d'armes doyent avoir trente florins, et de grace pain pour un garcon, et quand ils seront anciens, il sera a la discrétion du Maistre de leur faire aultre grace...» In 1366 the clothing allowance was put at 6 florins for the knights and chaplains, five fl. for the servants-of-arms or a donat of noble lineage—four florins for a donat not a noble man.

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Subsequent chapters modified these allowances, and in 1459 it was ordered that thenceforth they were to be paid in cash (1). At Viterbo the members were allowed two-and-a-half ducats each per month as table allowance (2).

Piliers in Malta drew from the Treasury sixty scudi a year for every knight (viz. two tarì a day), twenty-two scudi per chaplain, sixteen and-a-half for junior chaplains and seven scudi for persons on probation. The pass or entrance money paid by the probationers to the Treasury had to make good any deficiency in respect of their maintenance (3). These allowances covered as well the value of four salms of wheat, at five scudi the salm, and two 'caffisi' (4) of oil at 30 tarì a cafiso, assigned by the Convent to every knight (5). The Pilier had a further yearly grant from the Treasury, amounting to 120 scudi, with 600 'cantars' of wood, valued at three tarì per cantar, and the salary of the cook, butler and servants of the Auberge, reckoned at 80 scudi, as a subsidy towards carrying on the Auberge.

Of course these grants were not sufficient for the Pilier and Auberge to keep up hospitality, and they had therefore to make good any deficiency incurred to maintain the prestige of the Auberge, and the traditions and customs pertaining to their country and nationality (6).

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ibi p. 94. In the monetary system of the Knights at Rhodes one gold florin was equivalent to 10 gigliati, one gigliato to two aspri or three soldi, and one aspre to sixteen denari.—C. Torr, Rhodes in modern times, Cambridge 1887 p. 89; G. Schlumberger, Numismatique de l'Orient Latin, Paris 1878 p. 239 ecc.

(1) Chapter General by Gd. Master James Milly A.D. 1459 § 37.

(2) Vol. 209. f. 138, Council Decree 9th March 1523.

(3) Chapter General of 1631. Horse maintenance allowance was reduced in 1548 to six scudi a year in cash per head.

(4) The cafiso is equivalent to gallons 4.494.

(5) Gen. Chapter of 1631. Ordinance 29 on the Treasury.

(6) The Earl of Sandwich alludes to the Piliers' burthens in his "Voyage round the Mediterranean in 1738 and 1739"—published

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The *responsions*, derived from the imposts on English, Scotch and Irish commaderies and from other sources as already explained in dealing with the various commanderies, continually fed the coffers of the Common Treasury, whilst the grants above referred to went to the advantage of the members of the Auberge.

From the accounts of receipts for the year 1531 remitted and signed by Sir Clement West, it appears that the amount remitted to Malta by the English Commanderies was of pounds sterling 2592 5s. 10d. (1).

The Anglo-Bavarian Langue had apportioned 6,000 scudi a year for the table allowance of its members at the Auberge in Malta (2), and the Russian Priorate proposed to allot a sum proportionate to the number of its members residing in the Auberge (3).

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in London 1799 p. 505. «The Prior (viz the pilier) is obliged to keep a constant table for all knights of his own country, for the maintenance of which, notwithstanding he is allowed a certain sum of money, together with a fixed quantity of corn, wine, and oil, he is generally obliged to be at a very considerable private expence, to do himself honour, and to be able with more justice to claim a promotion on the first profitable vacancy. When the office of prior is vacant either by the death or promotion of the last incumbent, the senior knight of that body is substituted in his room, provided he be not indebted to the public treasury.»

(1) Ms. 926 M.P.L. In 1330 the « responsions » to be paid by the English Priorate were fixed at 8000 florins to be raised to double that sum at the end of that period. Those to be paid by the Priorate of Ireland were fixed at 2000 florins. Vol. 280 Capitula Generalia 1330-40 f. 7.

(2) Vol. 163. L. C. 1784-85 f. 109. P R.M.

(3) Vol. 2196 P.R.M.

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SERVICE AND USE OF THE AUBERGE.

National Solidarity and Union.

The Auberge of each Langue in the Convent brought together the members of the Langue and fostered the spirit of union amongst them. Indeed, at times, the spirit of national solidarity and union became too strong, and called for all the energy of the authorities to prevent dire consequences. European politics had their reflection and repercussion in the nationalities making up the Order and necessarily hindered a general fraternisation among the different groups. Spanish and French influences and susceptibilities in particular contended at most times for mastery in Malta. The Spaniards because of the feudal and dependent state of these islands from Sicily and Spain, claimed a predominant voice in its government which the French, on their side, owing to the preponderance of their langues were always ready to strongly oppose—both tending to gain the upper hand in the command of this stronghold. Thus on more than one occasion the Knights appeared to lit up into two hostile camps (1).

In 1533 a duel between a French knight and an Italian in the suit of Bernardo Salviati, Prior of Rome, nephew of Pope Clement VII, and General of the Maltese galleys, was enough to fan into flame the antagonism of the two parties. The French rallied round their Fleur de lys and assaulted the Italians, with whom the Spaniards at once sided. Great tumults ensued, knights and other gentlefolk were killed in a night scuffle, and to somewhat quell the turmoil the Prior of Rome had to leave Malta. The Turcoplier Rogier

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(1) In Palestine an attempt to check the furtherance of the interests of one nation to the detriment of others was devised and carried out by the creation of the Teutonic Knights in 1198—a German inspiration intended to counterbalance the influence of the Hospitallers and Templars in favour of Italian and French interests in the East. [Delaville le Roulx, Cartul. no. 1072]. During the residence of the Hospitallers in Malta, a project was set afloat to fuse and amalgamate the Teutonic Order with the Order of St. John, but the Grand Prior of Almagne and his Langue resisted all such attempts. Mss. 932 'Lettere Ungheria Boemia' f. 48 Emperor Rudolph II's Letter 9th. January 1582. M.P.L.

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Boydel died in consequence of exposure and sickness contracted in that night's struggle (1).

A few years later (1545) the murder of a Spanish knight by an Italian, to avenge the death of an Italian soldier, was the immediate cause of another outburst of the rival factions. The Prior of Lombardy, Carlo Sforza, General of the Galleys, was near being killed by the Spaniards had he not, by a prodigious leap, which remained proverbial amongst the knights, jumped into his boat. The four galleys of his squadron thereupon fell off in two factions. The flagship and the S. Mary Magdalen, manned by Italians and Frenchmen, stood on one side, and the St. John and St. Catherine manned by Castilian, Aragonese and Portuguese knights ranged themselves on the opposite side, in order of battle and ready for action. It was only by the personal intervention of the Grand Master that the Galleon of the Order, the «Barca», placed herself between the two rows of galleys and thus prevented an encounter which would have had fatal consequences (2).

Even so late as 1790 partizan spirit still rankled among the Hospitallers in Malta. The Pope's Nuncio at the Maltese Court, writing to the Cardinal Secretary of State, refers to an official banquet given by Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and German knights, to the exclusion of the French. The following year, he refers to frequent duels between French and Italian knights, on mere trifles connected with theatrical performances. The French knights, to give vent to their animosity, raised vehement opposition to the arming of a Venetian vessel then lying in harbour.

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(1) Bosio, Istoria della S. Religione, P. III. p. 124; Boyssat, Histoire de l'Ordre de l'Hospital, Lyon 1612 p. 538; Guglielmotti, La Guerra dei Pirati, Roma 1887, p. 322.

(2) Bosio, l. c. p. 249. The Prior Sforza was taken on board the 'Barca' and conveyed to Gaeta, whence he proceeded to Rome. He was afterwards given the command of the Pope's Galleys, and, in addition, he got three other vessels in gift from his brother.

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For two successive nights, parties of French knights stalked the streets of Valletta in search of Venetian officers. They eventually became so bold as to claim that the Venitian Admiral, Condulmer, should punish his own officers to gratify them. The Admiral demanded redress for the insult and many knights were consequently punished (1).

Another kind of solidarity which made itself evident was quite independent of the ties of nationality. Whenever anything happened which was deemed to interfere with or to infringe the prerogatives, privileges and pre-eminences of the Knights as a class, they protested to a man and did their utmost to resist any violation, real or imaginary, of what they considered to be their rights.

Grand Master Fulk de Villaret, because of his assertion of certain rights objected to by the Knights, was deposed, although it was he who had devised and obtained the sovereignity of Rhodes for the Order. De Villaret thought it wise to retire to Montpellier. There he died and was buried (1327). Nearly five-hundred years after, (1805) he was followed to the same place by Hompesch, the dethroned Grand Master, whose want of energy and lack of military qualities caused the sovereignty of the Knights over the island of Malta to be lost.

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(1) The knights Coussi, Le Groing, Toustaine were condemed to three years strict confinement and six years imprisonment in the Castle— Colincourt and Miromenil to 18 months jail and three months imprisonment in the Castle. Le Roux, D'Hampoul, Richmont, to two years jail (guva) and four of imprisonment in the Castle. De Brie, one year confinement in a castle. Parade — Silly — de Corn — Beaumont l'aine — Panisse — Trion —Marsillac — Bournavel — Lascaresse — S. Vitale — Talevanne — Seguin — each to two years imprisonment in the Castle. Laumon—Guitvy—Daussaire —Dalat—to one year each. La Faye to eight months. Beaumont le Cadet—La Roquete—Buslat—Bonnafoye, to six months confinement in the Castle. After three months, in June 1791, a general pardon was granted to all concerned at the request of the said Admiral.

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Grand Master La Cassiere was shut up in Fort St. Angelo and a lieutenant was elected to govern the Order in his stead, apparently for no other reason than that he desired to better enforce the statutes and monastic rules, which the Knights deemed to be a restriction of their liberty (1).

All the Langues supported each other in opposing any disposal of dignities or commanderies by Popes or Princes. (2) At times, in such contingencies, they did not even refrain from threats. Thus the Langue of Italy, in 1665, as a protest against the granting of its commanderies to nominees of princes or potentates, not in accordance with the ordinary customs and rules of the Order, and to the detriment of senior and deserving members thereof, refused its contingent of knights who were to serve their caravans on the galleys(3). A mutiny of the Langue d'Alemagne broke out in 1608, when it was tried to force on it the admittance of Charles Count de Brie, natural son of Henry Duke of Lorraine. The German Knights hauled down the ensign of the Order and that of the Grand Master from their Auberge, leaving only the ensign of their Emperor and their own. They even resolved to abandon the Island en masse, and sent word to their comrades in Austria and Bohemia not to come over to Malta any more. Grand Master Wignacourt averted the schism by inducing Lorraine to seek admission into the Langue of France. (4).

The Inquisitors as well as the Bishops of Malta, in the exercise of their rights, or of their jurisdiction over persons or places under the immediate control of the Order, had often to experience the general and dogged opposition of

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(1) Ch. Hirschauer, Recherchers sus Jean Levesque de la Cassiere, Rome 1911.

(2) Vol. 6390, P.R.M. refers to the steps taken by the various Langues in support of that of Provence to prevent the Priory of St. Gyles being granted to the Duke of Guise.

(3) Dal Pozzo, Historia P. 1. f. 829.

(4) Dal Pozzo, l. c., p. 537.

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the Langues. During a heated discussion, in the old Infirmary of Vittoriosa, the knight Charles Valdina struck the Inquisitor's Secretary, and the Inquisitor proceeded to investigate the case independently of the Order's officials. But the whole Convent moved Heaven and Earth to prevent the Pope's representative from taking any steps. The Langues unanimously asked that envoys be sent to Pope Clement VIII to urge that Knights should be judged by their own tribunals (1). Not one year after this incident, in 1600, some knights attacked the Inquisitor's prison and forcibly brought out a French Conventual chaplain who had been imprisoned there (2). In 1601 a Castilian knight, Francis Pontoisa or Pantores, wounded a dependent of the Inquisitor, Mgr. Varalli, who took action in the matter. A general commotion ensued. The Langues had recourse to the Pope, to the Emperor, to the King of Spain and to the King of France insiting that such interference with their privileges was unbearable and that should the practice not be abandoned they would quit the Convent and go to their homes (3).

Wignacourt fortunately succeeded in quelling the spirit of revolt and obtained from the Roman Court concessions which mitigated somewhat the exclusive power of the Inquisitor over the members of the Corporation (4).

Similar ebullitions threatened the peace of the Convent in 1712, when the Inquisitor's officials proceeding on duty to the Infirmary were put to the door on the plea that the Knights' Hospital was exempt from all other jurisdictions. Louis XIV and Victor Emmanuel of Savoy were approached with the view of giving support to the Order in this contention, and the Bailiff Zondadari, afterwards Grand Master, was despatched to Rome to smooth down matters with the Pope (5). The

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(1) Dal Pozzo l. c., p. 415-418. Valdina was exiled from Malta for one year.

(2) Vol. 452 L. B. 1599-1600 f. 253. P.R.M.

(3) Vol. 453 L. B 1600-1 f. 280; Dal Pozzo l. c. p. 445-47.

(4) Vol. 458 L. B. 1612-15, f. 394.

(5) Vol. 2107 Delib. Linguae Alverniae an. 1699-1716 f 78.

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Bailiff D'Averne Bocage later on, having become Chargé d'Affaires of France, with a royal warrant to support him, forbade the Inquisitor's Secretary (16th Sept. 1729) from meddling with the staff at the Hospital (1).

The Bishop was not in a better position than the Inquisitor.The Rev. Clement Fabrizi of Spoleto, vicar general of Mgr. Cagliares,pending jurisdictional questions between the Order and his principal (A.D. 1619), was on the point of being thrown over the rampart of the Post of Italy, had not the Grand Marshall of the Order with a few knights rushed to his rescue and escorted him to St. Elmo. Thence he was conveyed to Italy. When orders were received from Rome to enquire into the matter and to punish the culprits, all the Langues and all the knights to a man held that there were no ringleaders, as all had concurred equally by word or deed in what had been done!... This solidarity saved everybody. (2)

In 1774, one of the officials of the Bishop was beaten by some soldiers at the instigation of their captain. The Bishop caused the aggressors to be imprisoned. A group of knights assaulted the Bishop's prison and set free the captain's dependants. But this was not enough ; the Bishop was called to Rome at the remonstrance of the Grand Master !

The people of Malta likewise felt the consequences of this spirit of solidarity among the knights. On the 12th. of August 1730 a French knight pretended that he had been insulted by Count Manduca, a Maltese jurat. The next day, after dinner, eighteen French knights assaulted the Count in his own house and beat him. Popular feeling ran high after this dastardly act and retaliation on a large scale was feared.— It was only averted by the arrest of the culprits ; and armed pickets patrolled the streets during the next

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(1) Vol. 6396. P.R.M.

(2) Vol. 106. L.C. an. 1616-20 f. 172-172t. and 183 ; vol. 6465 f. 44. P. R. M. See the Author's «Archivi ed Università di Malta» p. 52.

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few days. (1) Another incident was probably one of the long series of causes that brought about the so called rising of 1775. On the 4th. February 1770, the Captain in charge of Floriana, acting under Grand Master Pinto's own authority, arrested and sent to the civil prison a French knight, «De Pennes», for causing annoyance and repeatedly disturbing that suburb at night. The knights held that such a proceeding infringed their privileges, as they had their own Marshall, tribunal and prisons and could not be dealt with in that summary fashion. The seven Piliers of the Langues insisted for redress and punishment of all concerned. The end of it was that the poor Captain was arrested and taken on board the galleys. There he was subjected to various indignities—by order of the Grand Master, who wanted now to pacify the incensed knights—to the great dissatisfaction of the civil population, who perceived in this procedure, says the reporter (2), a total absence of any regard for their rights and for justice and the taking advantage of their inability to withstand such abuses of power.

These and similar incidents in Malta can of course have no connection with the Tongue of England, which ceased to exist in its full vitality very soon after the Order's installation in this Island. But they convey an idea of the kind of life which was led in the Auberges and in which the Tongue of England shared during its existence; and they show the support Langues gave to one another in upholding the privileges and prerogatives of the Knights in general.

Life in the Auberge.

As soon as anyone was inscribed a member of the Tongue of England, he was welcome to its Auberge in the Convent, in fact he was entitled to its shelter even during probation, prior to his regular profession and assumption of the three obligations,—of preserving celibacy and chastity, of submitting entirely to the will of the Grand Master and Superiors of the Order, and of living without any individual wordly goods.

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(1) Abbé Reboul's Journal in the Library.
(2) Ms. 438 M. P. L.

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Immediately after receiving in the Church the accolade of knighthood and making his solemn profession, a knight's return to his Auberge was marked by peculiar ceremonies. Accompanied by the Grand Cross who had just dubbed him a knight, he walked bareheaded all the way in the armour and robes worn at the investiture. His comrades received him in the hall, where he was made to sit on a carpet laid on the ground and offered a glass of water, bread and salt. The knight presiding at the function, however, gave on that day a banquet to the new knight and his friends, perhaps to remove the somewhat too strong impression of austerity conveyed by the above meagre offer (1).

The young knights in the Convent looked to their Auberge for lodgings, meals and clothing allotted to them at the expense of the Common Treasury. Meals were served in common at fixed hours, and every one took his seat according to seniority of admission, first knights, then chaplains, and servants-of-arms in the third place (2). The general dietary or ration, called 'Pancarta', for each Auberge was subject to approval by the Council.

Knights on probation, as far as circumstances permitted, were separately trained to the life of the Auberge by the seniors in residence (3). This regional hospice was in fact

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(1) Ms. 558. Il Cavaliere di Malta by Commander J.B Marinier de Cary, p. 439. M. P. L. The servants-of-arms and the donats of noble birth, when raised to the knighthood, had to go through a more elaborate and public ceremonial, which included a promenade through the principal streets of the town. Delaville, Les Hospitaliers, p. 298.

(2) Vol. 1670. «Pratica del Convento» p. 20. Written about 1680 by the Bali Carnerio.

(3) The attention of the Council of the Order was more than once called to this subject during the residence of the Knights in Malta. A project approved on the 3rd. December 1629 was to set up the *Camerata* block in Sda. Mercanti, at present used for military married quarters, as the official residence of all those who were on probation; Frenchmen, Spaniards and Italians, having each separate quarters. A few years later it was decided to take Fort S. Angelo for this purpose (vol. 6385 f. 252 P.R.M.) At the same time a knight of the Langue of Auvergne gave for the same object a house of his near

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a school in which it was sought to instil into the young albergists the heroic spirit with which their predecessors in the Corporation had been inspired (1) and in which the young knights were trained in the practice of hospitality.

Hospitality or Infirmary service.

The exercise of hospitality covered in its widest acceptance the entertainment of pilgrims of all ranks and of all nations, the lodging and feeding of all classes from king to peasant; the nursing of the sick, providing them with all necessary medicines and with the attendance of physicians and surgeons gratuitously. In short, hospitality included the defence of guests on their way to and from the Hospitaller establishments, feeding and lodging them when in health, and nursing them when sick. (2)

The Infirmary described by Edward Brown as the very glory of Malta (3) gave expression better than anything else to the Knights' Hospitality. The present monastery of Sta. Scolastica at Vittoriosa was the Infirmary originally built under L'Isleadam. It was afterwards substituted by the one built in Valletta under Grand Master La Cassiere in 1574

S. Michael's bastion, and the Italians proposed to use for their probationers the house once belonging the Knight Admiral Francesco Lanfreducci, now substituted by the Opera House buildings. vol. 109 L.C. an. 1627-29, f. 242; vol. 110 an. 1630-33, f. 37; vol. 112 an. 1636-9 ff. 9 and 54; vol. 6384 f. 48; vol. 1111. P.R.M.

(1) Bosio's History of the Knights as to be read in the Auberges «perchè coll'esempio dei nostri antepassati si animino (i cavalieri) a ben operare e virtuosamente vivere, anco valorosamente combattere secondo l'istituto nostro.» Council decree 30th. Nov. 1630.

(2) Taafe--History of the Knights. B. 1. p. 149.

(3) «Travels and Adventures», London 1739 p. 176. Edward Brown, when 35 years old, visited this Hospital (December 1676). He descants on the good treatment received by the inmates. Large rooms with four beds were allotted to every two patients, for convenience of changing beds.

The Count George Albert of Erbach gives a glowing description of the place as seen by him in 1617.—«The Adventures of Count George Albert of Erbach» translated from the German of Emil Kraus by Princess Beatrice of Battemberg, London 1891 p. 302.

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The Knights' first Infirmary in Malta.
(Now Monastery of St. Scholastica, Birgu)

The Valletta Hospitaller Infirmary.
The Lower Yard.

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facing the St. Lazarus Curtain, the «Post» of England. This Infirmary was enlarged during Verdala's government, in 1583, by the addition of a new block. The two Grand Masters Cotoner enlarged La Cassiere's ward extending it to over 500 feet (1660-1666). The establishment subsequently assumed its present proportions, by the erection of the quadrangle facing Sda. Mercanti, during the Grandmastership of Perellos, in 1712. A fountain, with the Perellos coat-of-arms, in the yard of the quadrangle, receives water from the Wignacourt aqueduct. W. K. R. Bedford, who published the old regulations of the Infirmary of 1725, calls the building «a monument of grand architecture». (1)

The Infirmary of the Knights was renowned as the only one in which insane patients were received. (2) «For the remarkable splendour of its equipment and service the Knights' Hospital was unrivalled in its day, and indeed, with all the improvements in hospital service which modern progress has brought, we find it hard to improve on the old regulations (3)».

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(1) Hospital of the Knights of St. John by Rev. W. K. R. Bedford, London 1882 p. IX.

(2) The History of European Morals, by W. H. Lecky, v. ii., 89.

(3) M. A. Nutting R.N. and Lavinia Dock, R.N.—A History of Nursing, New York 1907 vol. I. *See*—H. K. von Zwehl, Urmen und Kranlen-Fursorge des Couveranen Malteser-Ritterordens, Rom. 1911.

Henry Teonge, Chaplain to H M. Navy, in his diary, under the date of August 1675 (published, London, 1825, p. 47) speaking of the Knights' Infirmary says: «The hospital is a vaste structure, wherin their sick and woonded lye. T:s so broade that 12 men may with ease walke a brest up the midst of it; and the bedds are on each syd, standing on 4 yron pillars, with white curtens, and vallands and covering, extreamly neate, and kept cleane and weete: the sick served all in sylver plate; and it containes above 200 bedds below, besyds many spatious rooms in other quadrangles with it for the chiefe cavaliers and knights, with pleasant walkes and gardens: and a stately house for the chiefe doctor and other attendants.»

Sandys, writing about Malta, lib. IV. 182, corroborates the above and adds: «the attendants many, the beds overspreed with fine canopies, every fortnight having a change of linen; served they are by the junior knights in silver, and every Friday by the Great Master himself, ac-

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The Knights, at a given signal from the bell of St. John's Church, proceeded from the Auberge to the Hospital to attend and assist in this great school of charity open to patients of all creeds (1).

It was thus that the national proclivities of the young knights were tempered and corrected, that individual asperities, generally the outcome of atmosphere and surroundings, were smoothed down, and that the character and abilities of each member thus became known, and could be availed of on occasion. And this was certainly one other advantage derived from life in the Auberge at Headquarters.

A peculiarity that remained always evident to the external eye, distinguishing the different nationalities in the Order, was the national dress of the knights, over which the white linen cross was worn. Seur Du Mont, in his «Voyage to the Levant, done into English,» London 1696 f. 129, thus describes this variety of costumes: «The Habits of the Knights are very different at Malta: The French, Italians, and Spaniards, retaining the Modes of their respective Nations. The Garb of

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companied with the great crosses; a service obliged unto from the first institution, and therefore called Knights Hospitallers». After such testimonials as Brown's, Erbach's, Teonge's and Sandys' one feels inclined to look upon Howard's strictures (Lazarettos in Europe, 1789 p. 58—Malta), on the Knights' Infirmary, with great diffidence, the more so as they depend on his word alone unsupported by any other authority.

A return of the monthly inmates of the Infirmary—1st. May 1787 to 30th. April 1789—preserved in the P. R. Archives, vol. 6408 marked G. gives, the number of beds, as 680 distributed as follows: 19 beds in the rooms for knights—19 in the knights' ward—old ward 22—ward for wounded 29, and 10 in the rooms annexed thereto—in the *magazino* 21, and in the annexed room 3—Palombara 29—little hall or ward 20—St. Joseph's hall 20—new ward 21—violino 1—other magazino 14—in the large magazino 64—Falanga 120—other magazino 109—in another room 8—Insane ward 18—and seven other wards containing 132, and in which the number of beds could be doubled or even tripled if necessary. The average of inmates in 1796 is put down at from 350 to 400.

(1) The rules enacted by the General Council for the joung Knights on probation laid down: «Che vadano spesso nel S. Ospedale a servire li Signori Poveri Infermi.» Vol. 110 L C. an. 1630-33 f. 37.

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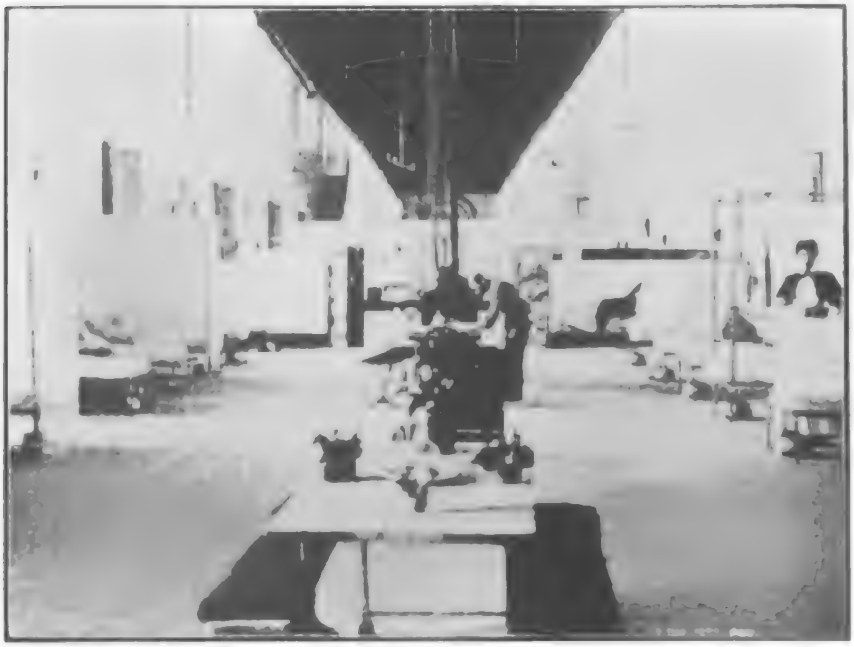
The Valletta Hospitaller Infirmary
The Hall of the Knight Infirmarian



The Valletta Hospitaller Infirmary
The Main Ward.

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the last is so odd, that I cannot forbear giving you some account of it : They wear a doublet slit before, and behind, and the sleeves are also slit, and close at the Wrists; an old fashion'd Collar, narrow Breeches fasten'd with buttons; and, in a word, I cou'd not chuse a more Comical Habit if I were going to act the Spaniard in a Mask. The Italians are dress'd exactly like so many Scaramouchi's».

In the Auberges were held the assemblies, called *collects* or *tongues,* in which the interests of each Langue in particular were discussed. Here the rights, duties, pre-eminences and privileges pertaining to the Langue were considered, supported and upheld; and here the internal management of the Auberge and its dependencies, the concession of the use of houses belonging to the Langue and of the apartments or quarters in the mansion were dealt with. It was also in these assemblies that the titles and proofs of nobility of the candidates for admission to the Order were examined and their acceptance or rejection decided upon, as the admissions already referred to fully show.

Caravans

The Auberge of the Tongue of England, in common with the others, supplied the requisite contingent for *caravans*, that is, for manning the galleys or naval forces of the Order. The number of persons detailed for such service varied according to circumstances and according to the strength of the Tongue.

On the 6th. March 1530, Sir Edward Belyngham, Commander of Dynmore, Sir Thomas Copledyk, Commander of Carbroke, Sir Thomas Dingley, Sir Cuthbert Layton, Sir John Babington, Sir Thomas Cavendysh and Sir George Sands formed the « caravan » of the English section (1). On November 28th. of the same year, only four knights were appointed to do caravan service. «At assemble holden the xxviii of November Mt. Vth. XXX by lycens of my lords levetenent m.ffre Barnardyne de Rasto for putinge of carvan in the galleys in the pr.sens of sir John Babington Trycopyllier it tonched iiii knyghts videlt— sir george aylmer

(1) Ms. 955 f. 12.

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Com.der of halfoord who it is thought by the hole tonge is not hable to make his carvan beinge not a man of curage as other of that noble nacion be, werfore thy wyll that he shall fynde an hable knyght to goo in his room.—Sir Edward Browne knyght Com.der of swyngefelde—Sir rycharde Broke knyght—Sir Anthony rogers Knyght (1).

Five were selected on the 1st. of March 1532, who «toke upon thym after the usaunce ta make carvan in the galleys these knyghts folowinge sir Cuthbert leyton com.er of Anstey and trebighe f nichos upton f henry gerard f John marshall, and also f antony bentham yf soo be that my lord m.r doo not reteyne hym to be w.t the govnor of the citie or ells f thomas cavendysshe takth upon hym to make the same caravan—(2); six on 1 April 1533: Sir Henry Pole, Sir O. Massengbred, Sir Th. Cavendish, Sir Philip Babington, Sir William Askew and Sir Donston Newdegate (3). On other occasions three, two, and, more than once only, one was detailed for this service when the Tonge was dying out (4). Sir Anthony Rogers on the 2nd.

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(1) Ibi f. 12.

(2) Ibi f. 12t.

(3) Ms. 955. f. 16t.

(4) A) On the 4th March 1531 the Tongue assembled «to chose and electe twoo knights to augement the carvan in the gallys—Sir John Sutton knight then levetenant turcoplyer showed the scryvans of the tresorys hand the retencion of the Lord Maister whiche were sir thomas dyngley knight commander of badysley and mayne and sir henry poole knight—After that f rychard salveford knight toke upon hym to make his caravan—lykywyse sir wyllam teryll knight toke upon hym to make his caravans—And immediately after toke upon them to make carvan accordinge as it tonched theym f James husey and f thomas thornhull».

B).—«Ao. 1559. The VIIIth. day of may the tonge houlden by the licence of the L. greate m r f.a jhon de Valleta for want of a lieutenant turcoplier beinge present the bayly of the egle—S.r george dudley knight tok upon him to make his carravan in the galleys of the religion. whereto the hole tonge agreed nemine discrepante—el baylio del aquila—f olyver.

«The same day the venerable tonge understanding by the declaration of the lord m.r f.a Jhon de Valetta that the said s.r george

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August 1536 was sent to the Tower for having excused himself without good reason from joining the galleys which were going to the assistance of Tripoli and to which service he had been detailed (1).

The uniform of the knights on caravan service consisted at one time of a red-coat with white facings, fronts and collar, gilt buttons with an anchor in the centre, white vest and breeches (2).

Many a noble family in Europe still preserves with pride records of caravans or cruises in which its ancestors took part on the galleys of the Order, pointing with satisfaction to the naval engagements in which they participated and representations of which adorn their castles. In the Grand Masters' Palace, now the Governor's Palace, in Valletta, a whole series of these pictures adorn the frieze of the Council-Chamber and corridors.

There is a striking note of uniformity in these battle scenes of the Order:—fierce encounters between the galleys of the Knights and Turkish vessels of all types; engagements at close quarters, boardings and bold captures of enemy's ships, masterly and swift pursuits. The field of action was the Mediterranean, where sea-power, up to, say, the battle of

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dudley knight could not take upon him to make his carravan bycause he was the most anntient.—S.r Jhon Jaymes sandelandis being present demanded to mak his carravan as that which of right touchid him which the whole tonge agreed, nemine discrepante. -Shr Jo James Sandilandis»—Ms. 955. f. 35.

(1) Vol. 86. L.C. 1535-1543 f. 35t.

(2). a) Les chevaliers caravanistes ont l'habit rouge, parements, revers, colet blanc, boutons jaunes a' ancre, veste et culote blanche. C'est l'uniforme des galères.

Les profés portent une soubreveste rouge avec une grande croix blanche devant et derrière, telle qu'elle est sur l'étendard.

Les chevaliers servant sur les vaisseaux, portent l'habit rouge, parement, revers, colet de velours noir, veste, culote blanche, boutons jaunes a' ancre....

b) Le régiment des vaisseaux est de drap de coton bleu, parements, colets, revers rouge, boutons a' ancre.—(Dolemieu?), Malthe, Corse, Minorque et Gibiltar en 1797.

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Lepanto, was a matter more of oars than of sails, and its principal weapon, the galley, or other small craft, and not the ponderous man-of-war that came in later. with the development of the use of sails. Naval actions were then merely land-fights fought at sea; and Mediterranean admirals expected of their galleys the mobility and precision of a regiment. Their object was primarily to ram the enemy, effecting a sort of cavalry charge, board him and then fight him at close quarters. The galley was more a vehicle than a fighting machine; she could fire from the bows and straight ahead. She carried few guns but many men, had a low free-board, little storage, and small endurance. Everything was sacrificed to mobility in action and rapidity over short distances (1). When the Order, adapting itself to novel requirements, improved the type of its vessels, and when it subsequently maintained a squadron of line-of-battle-ships to cope with the increasing force of neighbouring States, the Tongue of England had practically become extinct.

To the glorious achievements of the Order, knights of all nations alike had contributed, but details still available are too meagre to allow of our forming an idea of the part played by the English Knights in the earlier sea-fights when their Tongue still flourished—Sir John Weston, Turcopilier, in 1473, was entrusted with the command of the two galleys, which the Order found itself in difficulties to fit out. Weston was ordered to join the Venetian fleet under Moncenigo, and he acted so prudently, firmly and shrewedly in the conflict of interests between the Order and Venice, arising at the death of James Lusignan, King of Cyprus, that he was highly praised by the Grand Master and his Council «della destrezza e prudenza sua, molto lodato» (2). Another Weston, Sir William, also Turcopilier, was entrusted in 1523, with the command of the largest ship of the

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(1) Pollard, History of England, London 1910 p. 311.

(2) Bosio, Istoria P. 2. f. 340—Caterina Cornaro widow of James Lusignan was under the protection of Venice; Charlotte, former Queen of Cyprus, was in Rhodes, a guest of the Hospitallers.

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Order on the Knights' departure from Rhodes (1). Does it not speak of the good seamanship of Sir William to have been selected at that juncture for such a command? Even Sir Clement West's pretension to be preferred to Prior Sforza in the command of the Knights'. galleys in 1543 lends itself to the conjecture that he had given proofs of ability at sea entitling him to some sort of claim for such a post.

At Lepanto, Vallona, S. Maura. Scio, Candia, Oran, Penon de Velez and on several occasions during the seven-

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(1) Bosio, P. 3. f. 5. This vessel or carrack, formerly called «Mograbine» or «Quèen of the Seas», had been captured by the Knights during one of her voyages from Egypt to the north coast of Africa in 1507. She had seven decks and carried 100 guns, with a crew of 1000 men. Later, the Order built in Nice another carrack, named «S. Anna,» commonly known as the new carrack, to distinguish her from the first one which was named «S. Maria.» The *S. Anna* had six decks, with culverynes and numerous heavy artillery: the crew consisted of 300 men: she had a spacious chapel, hall of reception, and an armoury for equipping 500 men: on the poop she had a gallery planted with orange-trees: she was provided with ovens wherewith a baker supplied fresh bread daily in abundance. But the singular feature of her construction was the leaden sheathing rivetted with brass bolts, which protection, according to Bosio, prevented her being pierced below the bulwarks in the many engagements in which she took part.—Captain Windus of the Indian Army, at the London Academy of Archeology, on the 7th. February 1862, remarked, that whilst the merits of plated ships and invulnerable rams are so keenly canvassed in this and other countries, and the question of iron versus wood is the grand topic of interest in connexion with naval warfare, a vessel of huge dimensions existed more than three centuries ago ..... secured against cannon-shot by a metal sheathing, as effectual probably against the projectiles of the period as it is believed that «La Gloire» or the «Warrior» may prove against more powerful artillery. The use of brass bolts, shows a singular advance in technical details. When metal sheathing was introduced in this country 230 years later, it was fixed by iron bolts, and the advantage of using copper fastenings was only recognised at a comparatively recent time.—The «Santa Anna» probably resembled the celebrated «Henri Grâce de Dieu» of 1000 tons built at Erith, perhaps on an Italian model, in the reign of Henry VIII. To the Knights of St. John the merit must be given of having constructed the first metal-plated vessel of war upon record.» Archeological Journal vol. 13, 1862.

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teenth century, when the Knights fought and defeated large Turkish armaments off the coasts of Greece, Barbary, Candia and other places in the Mediterranean, there were no English Knights Hospitallers left to take part in the combats and share in the glory the Order derived thereform.

The Knights of Malta gained high reputation as sea-captains and the valuable assistance rendered by them to the commerce and general interests of all European countries was universally acknowledged. Charles II, James II and Queen Anne, owned, in autograph letters yet extant, their sense of obligation to the naval power of the Order for its efforts to liberate from hostile incursions the waters of the great inland sea. The gallant crusader of old had now changed into a bold naval commander, and the warrior-monk of Palestine had become the fighting terror of the corsair (1). The navy of the Order became a school wherefrom European Sovereigns often drew their admirals and captains. The founder of the French navy, King Francis I, called to his service the then well-known Prégeant de Bidoux, one of the Hospitaller Knights, who commanded the French fleet in the engagement in which the English lost their captain, Sir Edward Howard, in 1513 (2). The Prior of Capua, L. Strozzi, was placed at the head of the French Mediterranean fleet by Henry II, Francis the First' son. The bailiff de Suffren died an admiral of the French fleet, and such was his career as naval commander that his memory is still held in honour in French Naval Annals, and a battle-ship of the present French Republic bears his name (3). The best modern history of the Papal Navy, written by the learned P. Guglielmotti, presents a long series of Knights of Malta borrowed from the Order to be given the command of the fleet of the States of the

(1) G. Fyler Townsend, The Sea Kings of the Mediterranean London 1872 p. 208.

(2) Guerin L. Histoire Maritime de France, Paris, 2. 406.

(3) L. De la Brière, l'Ordre de Malte, Paris 1897. gives the names of other famous French Knights passed to the French Fleet, such as Paul, Marquis de Valbelle, D'Hocquincourt, Count de Tourville.

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Church. The names of Bighi, Salviati, Sforza and of the Prior of England Lomellini, have already been referred to elsewhere in these pages. We need only add to that list the name of Maturin de Lescut, *dit* «Romegas», who can claim some connection with the Tongue of England in that he obtained the title of Turcopilier, exchanged afterwards with that of Prior of Ireland, for services rendered to the Navy of Pope Pius V as second in command, under Marc Antonio Colonna, at the battle of Lepanto.

Reporting to His Holiness, on that naval action Colonna calls Romegas «the principal man to whom the victory was due» (membro principale di questa vittoria) (1). Townsend, quoting from Bosio and Brantome,—the latter Romegas' companion in his cruises,—refers to some of his former feats (2).

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(1) *See* Guglielmotti and J. De la Graviere, La Bataille de Lépante.—Julius Bovio appointed Prior of England, 11th. July 1701, had also been captain in the Papal Navy, and F. M. Ferretti, in command of that navy, obtained the same title of Prior of England on the 11th. Dec. 1706.—Ms. 883 Docs. No. 95 and 116. M.P.L.

(2) Romegas, in the spring of 1563, fell in with an enormous warship commanded by a famous Ottoman admiral. Romegas boldly rowed against his adversary, dashed against the side of his ship and caught hold with a tight grip of his grapping-irons. The crews pushed and smote and assaulted each other with pike, spontoon, sword and halberd. Romegas, sword in hand, cut his way to the forecastle of the enemy's ship, and wounded the Turkish commandant. The conqueror released eighty Christian slaves who were among the crew of rowers.

Within a few weeks Romegas, accompanied by a second galley, met with what was a veritable floating castle when compared with his own diminuitive galleys. He resolved on attacking. The two galleys advanced alternately one on each side, fired and then by their superior swiftness retreated to a safe distance, to reload. The action lasted some hours. In the end, without any attempt at boarding or close combat, the huge ship struck its colours to the two little galleys.—The following summer, whilst sailing with two galleys belonging to the Grand Master La Vallette, in company of the five belonging to the Order, Romegas fell in with the largest vessel in the Turkish Navy, carrying twenty large cannon besides other guns of smaller calibre, manned by a picked crew and defended by 200 stalwart Janizzaries. The tactics of attack adopted by the galleys were, to advance one on each side, approach as near as

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Duties performed and Dignities obtained in the Corporation.

The Magisterial elections, the labours of the supreme legislative assembly of the Order, as well as those of the ordinary and of the complete Councils required the co-operation and engaged the attention of the Tongue and Auberge.

Sir Gyles Russell and Sir Richard Bruck were among the electors of the Grand Master Pierino de Ponte, on 27th. August 1534, and of his successors, Didier de St. Jaille, on 22nd. November 1535, and Jean d'Homedes, on the 20th. October 1536. At the election of De Ponte Sir Clement West was appointed President or Moderator of the election (1). The two Schelleys, Starkey, and several other members of the Tongue, had the same honourable task to perform in succeeding elections and chapters.

The Turcopilier Sir John Weston, whom we have seen entrusted with the command of the galleys, was, on the 24th. February 1474, elected by the Order to preside over the chapter and provincial assemblies of Italy, Germany and England (2). The Chancery registers record his Office of Ambassador of the King of England and of the Pope at the Court of the Prince and Grand Master of the Order, and, on 10th. June 1482, the precedence granted to him in the Council next to the Grand Master (3).

The office of the Turcopilier was, *per se*, just as important as any of the others connected with the defence and protection of the Convent. The conscientious and right performance of its duties called for the help and cooperation of the members

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they could with safety and fire their guns: while they retired to reload, the two next advanced, fired their broadsides and retired, and so they continued to fire by relays in as rapid succession as they could. When the fire of the Turks showed slackening, the galleys closed in on both sides and boarded their giant antagonist in different parts. The contest was so severe that the Knights lost 120 of their men, while the conquered Turks had only 80 slain.

(1) Vol. 85. f. 40; vol. 86 ff. 10 and 39. P.R.M. Bosio l.c. P. 3. p. 158.

(2) Vol. 209 f, 62. P.R.M.

(3) Ibi. f. 89. Weston died in 1489, being Prior of Clerkenwell.

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of the Auberge. The prudence, experience and tact required in the carrying out of its duties, could find nowhere better support and inspiration than in the gatherings of the Brethern of the Turcopilier's own Tongue.

At the siege of Rhodes in 1522 the Turcopilier John Bouth had one of the chief commands in the fortress and died in action. Nicholas Hussey commanded the English rampart and acted as Secretary to the Grand Master. William Weston had the command of the 'Post' of England, and Scheffield that of the Palace battery (1).

Sir Thomas Scheffield, Bailiff of Eagle, was on the 4th. May 1523, appointed Senescal, that is, the Grand Master's right-hand man in all but Chancery work. This happened at the critical juncture following the loss of Rhodes (2). He had been employed on several occasions in diplomatic missions to the English and Spanish Courts. Bosio qualifies him: «di bel ingegno e molto valoroso e destro» (3). Sir Thomas Newport carried out analogous missions in 1501 and 1518.

The Venerable Tongue of England rendered no less distinguished service to the Brotherhood during the early period of the occupation of Malta by the Order.

Sir Gyles Russell was elected Governor and Captain-of-arms of Birgu, the town adjoining the Castle. He then succeeded West in the Turcopiliership (4) and died in Malta in 1544.

Sir Thomas Upton was elected Turcopilier on the 5th. November 1548. He lost his life in the fulfilment of his duties whilst opposing the landing of the renowned Dragut in July

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(1) The Knights present in Rhodes at the time besides these were John Rawson, G. Russell, Th. Pemberton, J. Sottun, George Emer, Nicholas Roberts, George Askew, Michael Roche, Otho de Monsill, R. Nevil.

(2) Vol. 84 f. 10t.

(3) Bosio P. II. p. 619 in the years 1501 and 1518.

(4) He was elected on 15th. March 1537. vol. 85 f. 46t. P.R.M. At his death some differences arose between the Tongue and the Treasury in connection with his «spoils», and Jean Parisot la Valette, afterwards Grand Master, was, on the 2nd. December 1544, entrusted with the duty of composing the differences.

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1551. Dragut came with 150 galleys and other vessels and landed at Marsa. Upton set out in pursuit towards Curmi and thence towards Birchircara finally compelling Dragut to fall back on Marsamuscetto. Upton's own corpulence, the scorching rags of the sun, and the overpowering heat, told so much on him that at the end of the furious drive he coilapsed and died in a few hours. The troops he commanded consisted of 30 Knights and 400 mounted Maltese. (1).

Sir Oswald Messingberd, Lieutenant Turcopilier, on the 9th. April 1552, was entrusted with the inspection of arms and men fit for service in the district or parish of Zebbug. All males between 18 and 60 years of age were liable to serve(2).

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(1) «Le turcoplier ayant promptement rallié les siens, tourna bride et fist teste, et chargea furieusement les ennemies, les mit en routte, en tua grand nombre, prit plusieurs prisonniers; et fist coupper quantite de testes qu'il envoye au chasteu S. Ange.»—Boyssat, Histoire de l'Ordre, Lyon 4t. 1612 p, 662-664.—J. de la Graviere, Les Corsaire Barbaresques, Paris 1887 p.203, 207—

(2) The organization of the Maltese territorial forces under the Order differed very little from that which had previously been established in the Island. The Knights made the old system their own subjecting it however to the preeminence of their corporation. The Turcopilier, the Senescal, the «Cavallerizzo» (Equerry), the Falconer, the Grand Bailiff, the Artillery Commander, the Commissioners of Defence and Warlike Stores the Knights, together with their subordinate banneretts, turcopiles and constables supplanted the authority of the «Capitan di Verga», «Jurats», principal citizens, royal and municipal officers of former times. The Royal Warrants and the enactments of the Municipality of Notabile on the one hand, and the magisterial orders of Verdala, Garzes, Lascaris, De Redin and Manoel on the other, leave no room for doubt on the subject.

From the Royal Warrant of the 5th. April 1498, addressed to the Maltese Jurats, it appears that the territorial forces of the Island consisted of the feudatories and the wealthy inhabitants, who were bound by their titles or by their wealth to keep one or more horses or beasts of burden duly harnessed and armed, and of all the males from 16 or 18 years upwards, each one of whom was bound to provide his own lance, sword and poignard. From the rolls of the Notary Giuseppe Mamo, it appears that up to the 5th. of November 1581 the Duke of Monteleone paid 26 ounces a year for military service to which he was bound towards the Grand Master and Order in respect of the lands of Marsa which he held in fee.

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In the Chapter of 1569, Anthony Gaufre or Gefrey, for his aptitudes and ability, was entrusted with the task of writing the History of the Order. These and similar appointments and work done explain why Grand Masters and Council

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The eight parishes of the island, in 1498, were set down to furnish 4000 men-at arms, in the same manner as the said parishes under Grand Master De Redin and his successors were to provide musketeer regiments. In a cause debated in Rome in 1670, between the Order and the Maltese ecclesiastics who were unwilling to pay the tax imposed for the maintenance of the fortifications, it was stated on behalf of the Order that the musketeers did not muster more than 4620 men. These were the six country regiments of twelve companies each, under the Senescal's orders. In the Code of Laws promulgated by Grand Master Manoel in 1724 (title 25) rules for the better regulation of these forces were enacted. The post or camp of San Giuseppe was established as the Senescal's and Cavalry Commander's head quarters.

Another Royal Warrant addressed to the said Captain and Jurats on 4th. January 1499, gave unrestricted permission for hawking (Cathedral Archives vol. 25. p. 261). Sportsmen came thus to form a body which later on became the Regiment of Falconers under the Knight Falconer. This regiment was 700 strong.

The cavalry, or, better, the obligation of keeping horses or beasts of burden duly harnessed and armed, was regulated by a Municipal Order of 6th. July 1475. It was laid down that the Captain of the City, during his year's tenure of office, was bound to keep two horses, just the same as the Bishop and other personages appearing in the roll formed in 1491 (Ms. 670 and Ms. 860 f. 137 M. P. L.). By an enactment of the 20th. Sept. 1494 every officer of the Municipality was bound to keep in his stable one horse well found in everything (Ms. 860. f. 163). The Manoel «Constitutions» of 1724 modified this obligation, imposing it only on those who enjoyed an income of 100 ounces from real property and on such others as paid 250 scudi of rent.

Grand Master Verdala in his «Pragmatic» of 1st. June 1593 (Ms. 704 f. IIIt. s s.) *De re militari*, had imposed this duty on all such as had an income of 50 ounces, forbidding the sale, without licence, of horses outside the dominion—exempting the owners at the same time, from guard duty between the 1st. March and St. Martin's.

De Redin in his Code of Laws or Pragmatic, confirmed these and other dispositions relative to the territorial forces, regulating the service and the number of each guard station,—at least four to each station. The night was divided into four watches.

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insisted on the residence in Malta of some of the elderly and senior members of the Tongue recorded in the Chancery registers.

On the 7th. November 1533, Sir William Weston, the Grand Master's Lieutenant in England, was formally requested to call upon Sir John Rawson, Turcopilier, Sir Edward Hill, Commander of Schingay, and Sir Eyles Russell, Commander of Mount St. John, to proceed at once to Malta if they were not already on their way (1). On the 22nd. December 1534 Commanders Sir Edward Bruck of Swinfield and Sir Edmund Hussey of Templebroke were called upon to come to Malta within six months «armis accinti» (2). And on the 17th. March 1535, Hill was again ordered to the Convent together with Sir Ambrose Cave and Thomas Copuldike, with the proviso that «coercion was to be used if necessary» (3).

Smutitions — competition for awards of commanderies.

The election to Lieutenant Turcoplier, the grant of antianities, the approvals of permits, the preparatory report for the chapters, called «rowl or roll» the claims preferred to vacant commanderies, bailwicks and dignities, were all subject to the routine examination and decision of the Auberge. These latter duties entailed no indifferent labour, often of considerable difficulty, as they not unfrequently required careful study and the weighing of the circumstances and positions of the claimants. We shall just note a few. Their explanation will enable us better to understand the customs of the Fraternity and the nature of their pleadings. Commanderies were qualified by various distinctives expressing the nature of the claim on which they were conferred. They were called of «*cabishment*» when they were obtained by right of seniority in the Tongue, coupled of course with the other necessary qualifications,—fitness, birth within the limits, caravans, and other

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(1) Vol. 415. L.B. 1531-34 f. 167. «Tamen cum maxime deceat et necesse sit nomnullos antiquiores et antianos fratres nostros venerande istius lingue hic nobis in conventu n.ro assistere opere pretium visum fuit nobis illos his nostris litteris publica auctoritate vocare.»

(2) Vol. 416 f. 154. P.R.M.

(3) Ibi.

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conditions generally covered by the qualifications «habilis et capax». Commanderies by «cabishment», up to 1365, were granted by the Grand Prior and Provincial Chapter, and afterwards by the Convent, to such as had been elected by the Tongue (1). Commanderies were called of «*Meliorment*» when obtained by brethren who had effected improvements in the commanderies previously held by them. Besides the improvements effected, the nominee must have passed a

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(1) Up to 1354 commanderies were generally granted only in administration for a fixed period to any professed member of the Order whom the Prior and his Provincial Chapter (cum assensu et concilio fratrum et procerum prioratus) deemed qualified. It was in their power to confirm him for any longer period or to remove him. Up to 1374 the General Chapter reserved some of the commanderies to be granted by the Grand Master. The commanders had to maintain the brethren and donats assigned to the commandery (Bosio, Storia, p. 2, in the year 1317) and to render accounts of administration to the Treasury. It was found later that it paid better to grant these benefices from ten to ten years with a yearly sum to be paid to the Treasury. (Vide Bull given 22nd. February 1418 to the Grand Prior William Hulles for a ten years renewal of the Grand Priory) Osterhausen, Statuti, Ms: 162 pp. 83. M.P.L.— It seems that in England elections and presentations took place till a later period, as shown by the election at Clerkenwell, on 8th. of April 1417, of the commander of Bockland already quoted, and to which took part the Lord Prior William Hulles and the commanders John Brunston of Ribston, Henry Thornhall of Eagle and of Willington, Richard Paule of Templebrewer, John Killrit of Clerkenwell, Halston and Mount St. John, W. Roche of Dynmore and Trebight, Robert Malery of Bashall, Robert Dawgene of Grenham, Walter Barle of Yeverly and Barrow, Stephen Ebeldegrave of Carbrook, William Langham of Temple-London, Comr. Walter Holbeche of Anstey, and the subprior of St. John's Clerkenwell, John Gresham, William Ebocon, Thomas Quenylborth, Huge Beide (who was made Prior on 6, Oct. 1417) John Cole guardian (custos) of the Commandery of Bockland, Michael Anson custos of the Commandery of Trebigh, Richard Cerne Commander of Ossynton and Newland, v. 340 L.B. 1416-17. f. 117. In 1476, J. Langstrother Grand Prior of England was presented to the Sovereign as elected by some commanders and knights at Clerkenwell.

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certain stated time in residence in the Convent (1), and on his commandery, and fulfilled the obligation imposed by the Statute to form the «cabreum», or cadaster, which was a detailed description of the property and of the jurisdictions enjoyed in respect of it. Other commanderies were called of «*Magisterial Grace*» because of their being granted by the Grand Master; others were called of « *Juspatronate* », where the right of presentation rested with certain families or persons who had reserved such right to themselves when establishing the benefice. Those which Popes, using their authority over property bequeathed for pious purposes, conferred by brief to whom they pleased, irrespective of the statutes of the Order, and often at the request of Princes and Sovereigns, had no special name. But such grants were the object of continual complaints and strong remonstrances on the part of all the Langues.

Only the first two categories viz: commanderies by «cabishment» and of «melioi ment» came within the province of the Auberge. Candidates provided themselves beforehand with the required status of seniority, with the approval of the improvements effected in their commanderies, and with other documents showing that they had fulfilled any other necessary conditions, without waiting for a commandery to become vacant, when the right of option could be exercised. The exercise of this right of option was called «smutition».

An opportunity for «smutitions» or options for commanderies and dignities in the Tongue of England, arose in Malta, at the death of Sir Albion Pole, (brother to Cardinal Reginald) Bailiff of Eagle, Commander of Newland, Ossington, Wynkbourne and Stede. Sir Albion died

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(1) No one could be given a Commandery before his completing three years in the Order, or a Castellany, before five, as laid down by the Chapter General 22 Nov. 1323. A Priory or a Bailwick required 20 years service in the Corporation (Statute of 24 October 1330), of which five must have been spent in the Convent, to acquire experience in the rules and customs of the Order. In 1346 this period was reduced to fifteen years.

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in England on the 9th. of August 1530. On the 31st. December of that year Sir John Babington, Turcopilier, with the consent of the Tongue assembled in the Auberge at the «Burgh» of the Castle, optated for the Baliage of Eagle(1), and was instituted therein by the Grand Master and Council on the 7th. January of the following year. The Turcopiliership, which became vacant in consequence of the option, passed to Sir Clement West, by right of seniority in the Tongue, and Sir Nicholas Hussey was appointed his lïeutenant (2).

Sir Rogier Boydell, Commander of Baddysley and Mayne, effectively optated for the Commandery of Newland, through Sir Thomas Dyngley, his special procurator. Boydell wanted to improve his position, having effected improvements in the commandery he had so far held. He «asked the commandry of Newland aforesaid for meliorment» and received the relative bull on the 31st. December 1530 (3).

In consequence of Boydell's option, Sir Thomas Dyngley, the senior knight in the Auberge, asked for his «cabishment» the commandery of Baddysley and Mayne vacated by Boydell — «After that at the same assembly Sir Thomus Dyngley knyght as anncient of the tonge asked for his chevyshment the Commandry of Badysley and Mayne to whiche

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(1) «At th assemble holden the last day of decembre in the yere of o.r lorde a thousand fyve hundreth and one (?) and thyrty by lycens of the most reverend lorde the greate maister ffr phyllip de villers lyslyadam there vaked by the dysses of sir albon pole knight unto the tonge the bayllyage of the Egle and the commandry of Newland ossington wynkeborne and stede. At the same assemble sir John babyngton trycopylier made request unto the tonge to have the said baylliage of the egle and renunsinge the trycopylership—to whiche oll the hole tonge assented nemine discrepante.» Ms. 955 f. 13. M.P.L.

(2) Vol. 85. L.C. 1526-35 f. 61t.—23rd. Dec. 1530. The relative Chancery bulls are in vol. 414. L.B. 1528-30 f. 193 and 194. P.R.M.

(3) Vol. 414 f. 193t. Under the 26th. June 1532.—Ms. 455— occurs the entry: «pd. by the Right Honble. fr. Roger Boydell Knight Commander of Newland and levetenent turcoplier for his meliorment of Newland to the hands of fr. Edward Browne—ff.li XXti.» f. 85t.

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all the tonge assented nemine discrepante» (1). He received the relative bull of investure on the 31st. Dec. 1531 (2).

Sir George Aylmer opposed Dyngley's claim and brought forward his reasons before the Council, but being in debt with the Common Treasury he forfeited his claim to the commandery (3).

Sir Nicholas Hussey, the newly elected Lieutenant Turcopilier, did not long enjoy, and had no opportunity of fulfilling, the duties of his office. He sickened and died on the 20th. February 1531. His was the first tribute paid to nature in Malta by the Knights of the Venerable Tongue of England.

Hussey, during the last siege of Rhodes by the Turks, had commanded the Rampart of the Venerable Tongue of England. In 1528 he had paid a visit to Malta, to report on the state of these islands and on the expediency or otherwise of the Order accepting them.

By his death, the Lieutenant Turcopiliership, together with the two commanderies of Anstey and Trebigth and of Templebruck became vacant.

Sir JohnSutton, Commander of Beverley, entered into the vacant lieutenancy of the Turcopiliership on the 23rd. Feb. 1531(4)and obtained by «magisterial grace» the Commandery of Templebruck on the 28th. Feb. of the following year (5). A year afterwards he was succeeded in the «pre-eminence» of Lieutenant Turcopilier by Sir Rogier Boydell (6). The Com-

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(1) Ms. 955 f. 13.
(2) Vol. 1414 L.B. 1528-30 f. 193t.
(3) Vol. 85 f. 61 P.R.M.
(4) Vol. 85 f. 63t.
(5) Vol. 414 f. 195.
(6) «At assemble holden the VIIIte. day of Aprill 1532 by the lysens of my lord mast.r fra philyph de vyllers lyseleadam in pr.sens of f John sutton and all the hole tonge at whiche tyme the right worshypfull f rogger boydell comander of newland as moost anchand and moost worthy demanded at the said tonge the premynense of levetenant torcowplyer to kepe the harbage acordyngly unto the said demand all the hole tong then beying pr.sent acordyngly accepted hym

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mandery of Anstey and Trebigth passed, on 25th. February 1531, to Sir Cuthbert Leyton by vote of the Tongue for seniority and merit «for his chevysshement» (1).

The proctor of Sir Gyles Russell laid claim to the vacant commandery of Temple-brewer on the 24th. October 1534, «for meliorment».

The assembly, or Tongue, at the Auberge consented «under the condition» that Russell should give up the commandery of Badisford and Dingley, he then possessed, with all its dependencies, for the «next borne to it now being of the first passage» viz. for cabishment of the senior knight without a commandery, who was William Tyrell (2).

In connection with the grant of commanderies on meliorment and the approval of improvements effected to the same, the Tongue appointed two Knights to examine the documents and to report generally on the subject, and then based its decision on their conclusions. Thus

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to the same in wytness whereof every one then beying pr.sent hathe under wrythyn ther names the yere and day above rehesid—John sutton comander — f edwarde belygem com.der — f edwarde browne comander—f henre poolle k—f richard broke k – f wyllyam tyrell k—f rychard salford—f John babyngton k—antony rogers—oswald massyngberd—thomas thornehull – Jhamys husy — phylyph babyngton — wylliam askew kt.» Ms. 955.

(1) Ms 955 f. 13t. M.P.L. and vol. 414 f. 194t. «At the assembly... to exmute the commandry of anstey and trebigth in the tonge holy assembled sir cuthbert leyton knight as anncient benemerente asked the said comandry of anstey for his chevysshement, to whiche all the hole tonge nemine discrepante assented and consented».

(2) Ms. 955 f 29 «the proctor of f gyles russell desaringe and demandinge to have the said com.dry for meliorment, to the whiche demande all the hole tonge than beinge present did consent, under the condition that the said sir gyles russell leving the said comandry of basford and dingley w.t the members of dingley as he found it or all the said commandery of temple brewer to rest to hym that is next borne to it now beinge of the first passage. At the same tonge holden was demanded the commandry of besford and dingley for f wylliam tyrell as next borne unto the same, to whiche demande and that above said all the hole tonge than beinge present contented and a greed».

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the Tongue's Minute-book registers twice «the meliorment of the right worshipful f John sutton com.er of beverley and wyllerton». On the 25th. February 1534 the Minute-book states that it «was shewed, read and undrestood» and that the «meliorment was accepted and taken by all the hole tonge for good and sufficient accordinge to the stablysshements, nemine discrepante» (1). And on the 18th. September 1535 the same meliorment having been examined by the two commissioners Sir William Tyrell and Sir Antony Rogers «according to good use and custom, their relacion and opinion was then passed and recepttyd for good and valyable» (2). On the 12th. April 1537 the « meliorments of Sir Thomas Capuldyke commander of Carbroke were held good », whilst those of Sir Edward Browne, Commander of Swynfield, were not approved being found deficient. Specification of Capuldyke's meliorment was only entered on the Minute-book on the 17th. May following (3).

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(1) Ms. 955 f. 38.

(2) Ibi f. 182.

(3) Chippenham had been dismembered from Carbroke on the 3rd. June 1527 and its rent assigned to Mark Pillete Rhodiote who had followed the Order (Ms. 955 f. 104. M.P.L.) At this juncture Chippenham reverted to Carbroke burthened with £6. 13. 4 a year.

XII April 1537 «their was presented ye meliorments of f thos. copeldeke com.r of carbroke and f edward browne com.r of swynfyld at whiche tyme was admytted ye melyorment of f thomas capeldeke for good nemine discrepante and ye. other was demyssed for lake of a terretory and divers other thyngs excepted—whiche meliorment of ye said f thomas capeldeke was not writyn in ye present boke tyll yes day as follows whiche was ye 17 day of may nex ensuying at whiche tyme was sent in yr present boke ye gyffe of ye member of chyppenham whiche was closely geven for on to ye comdry of carbroke and joyned to ye said comdre as hyt was before to ye p.r piallete—at whiche tyme was known yt ye prior has taken and retayned from the said f thomas copeledeke of the said member VI £s. XIIIs. IIIId. byfore—for whiche the said comr. hys bouned hym ferst to do hys dylyverance—for to retorn the sayme other lyfe yt (that) had not byn acceptyd—In wytness all ye hole tong have subscrybyd yer nams—as god wyll—f clement west—f edward browne—f thomas capuldyke —f John babyngton—f thomas thornehull—f phylype babyngton kt.» Ms. 955 f. 30.

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In 1534 Sir Richard Bruke and the Commander Sir Gyles Russell, represented by Sir Edward Hill, contested between them the commandery of Dalby and Rodethley which had become vacant by the death of Sir John Babington, Bailiff of Eagle. Bruke laid claim to the commandery for his «cabishment», having performed his caravans and residence and thereby gained the required seniority. Russell put forward his claim to preference on the ground of seniority and of his right of «meliorment», having carried out the improvements prescribed in the commandery he had been holding. Bruke contested Russell's claim on the plea that Russell had made over to seculars property forming part of his commandery. He thereby succeeded in excluding Russell from his right of option (1) Russell was not cleared of this charge before the 21st. June 1535. But Bruke in his turn found himself opposed by Sir Henry Pole who enjoyed equal seniority with him and had paid his passage at the same date. The Grand Master and Council decided in favour of Pole, with the obligation of refunding Bruke's expenses, on the ground that Pole's birthplace was nearer the Commandery than Bruke's (2).

Bruke, Pole and Oswald Messengberd, in the preceeding year, had likewise contested between them the Commandery of Mount St. John left vacant by the option of Sir Thomas Pemberton to the Commandery of Newland, on the death of the Turcopilier Sir Rogier Boydell its holder. The Chancery, on 18th. April 1533, issued a Bull to the three competitors with the condition that the one among them whose birthplace was found to be nearest to the Commandery would be entitled to hold it, that being the rule when competitors of equal seniority claimed the same commandery (3).

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(1) Vol. 85 L.C. 1526-35 f. 112t.

(2) Vol. 85 f. 131. Vol. 415 f. 168t. contains the relative bull of the Magisterial Chancery under the date of the 8th. March 1534.

(3) Vol. 415 f. 177 and 167t. «contulimus fratribus Henrico Pole et Edoardo Brouck militibus de eadem passagio scilicet alteri qui in loco propinquiori dictae preceptoriae natus et procreatus fuerit».

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On the question of precedence and seniority, in the Chancery records there is the case of Sir John Langstrother whose claim was contested by William Bachicote for want of the requisite age. His age was the subject of a judical investigation in St. Paul's Cathedral, London on the 26th. July 1436. The witnesses heard included his father, Thomas Langstrother, 60 years old, his mother Jane, 46 years old, the parish priest of Crosthworte or Crosthwyate,—Sir John's place of birth,—his godfather and others. It was ascertained that John was born on the 29th. November 1416, as explained in the notarial deed given on that day by Robert Kent, cleric of Canterbury Cathedral, at the request of Sir William Langsthrother acting in the name of his brother John (1). Sir William was Bailiff of Eagle in 1446, and Sir John, Commander of Dalby and Rotheley.

In 1534 the improvements effected by Sir Ambrose Cave in the commandery of Yverley and Barrow, which he had obtained for his cabishment, were contested in the Tongue. But Cave applied to the Council and obtained their approval (2). Wishing subsequently to obtain for his meliorment the commandery of Shingay, left vacant by the death of Sir Edward Hill, Sir Ambrose found himself again confronted by Sir Anthony Rogiers and Sir John Babington junior, who opposed his option on the ground that he had not resided for five years on his commandery of Yveley and Barrow. The Council held that this plea did not apply (3) and, on the 14th. June, issued a bull to each of the three competitors, that only to be valid which belonged to the one who was found to have been born nearest to the Commandery. Cave thus obtained preference over the other competitors. He had not yet reached, however, the desired haven. Sir Thomas Dingley had already been instituted into the Commandery by Prior William Weston by virtue of a

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(1) Vol. 352 L.B. an. 1436-7 f. 130.

(2) Vol. 85 f. 116.

(3) Vol. 86 f. 29t. and 132.

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privilege obtained at Montpellier from the Grand Master elect Didier de St. Jaille. This was an even more serious obstacle. Cave appealed to Malta, with success. The Grand Master and Council informed Prior Weston that the grace and bull of St. Jaille had not received the approval of the Convent as St. Jaille died before reaching Malta, and thus the alleged privilege fell to the ground (1).

Grant of "Graces"

«Graces», were exemptions from certain rules, as well as reinstatements in forfeited seniority. They paved the way towards Brethren obtaining commanderies, and controlled the preliminary proceedings leading to that end. They came within the presence of the assemblies of the Auberge.

On the 28th. February 1531, Sir John Babington was authorised, with the consent of the Grand Master and Council, to count for seniority, and for acquired claim to expectancy of other commanderies, the time he intended to spend in England as if he had spent it on duty in Malta (2). « Sir John Babington knight baylyve of the eagle asked of grace speciall of the hole tonge that he myght melior hym of an oder commandry beinge in the ponent aswell as he myght doo yf he were in the Convent» (3). The same Babington on the 4th. of the following August asked the consent and approval of the Tongue in Malta for his exchange of the commandery of Templebrewer, obtained by magisterial grace from Grand Master l'Isleadam, «as the said greate maister lately gave of grace unto Sir John Babyngeton knight baylyff of the Eagle oute of the

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(1) Vol. 416 f. 159. It will be well here to note that on the question of the conferment of commanderies by Priors, the Chapter General, on the 26th. February 1533, decided, at the instance of the English Knights, that the Prior of England could not confer commanderies excepting for periods of from five to five years as practised by the priors of the other Langues. Weston was allowed, however, to retain during his lifetime the prerogative he had enjoyed Vol. 286 f. 36.

(2) Vol. 414 f. 194t. A.O.M.

(3) Ms) 955 f. 13t.

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commandry of Templebrewer» (1), with the commandery of Wyllerton held by Sir John Sutton. Both commanderies were to be valued by mutual friends and the difference composed between the two. Sutton was to enter in possession of Templebrewer «at Mydson next» 1532.

Some property belonging to the Priorate of England, situated at Hampton Court, was exchanged with other property belonging to the Monastery of Stansgate which had accrued to the Crown. Stansgate was thereupon given to Commander Sir Thomas Dingley by his uncle Prior Sir William Weston and the Provincial Council. The Grand Master and Council enquired into the regularity of this transaction and finding it admissible remitted the matter on 16th. April 1534 to the decision of the Tongue, receiving the following answer: «the counsyll seying no contradyxion remittyd to the tong to pass yt for good, and so at thys collyt holding, they have done and past» (2).

The Tongue assembled in the Auberge consented to Sir Antony Rogiers and Sir William Tyrell being absent from Malta on leave one-and-a-half years, earning in the meantime seniority to qualify for Cabishment: but as one of the members present raised opposition to this concession recourse was had to the Council for decision on 18th. February 1534 (3). The Council approved the course proposed by the Tongue

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(1) Ms. 955 f. 15. On the 16th. of February 1532. Babington obtained permission to leave Malta to reside on his Bailiwick of Eagle (V. 85 f. 80). He died on 10th. January 1533. On the 7th. January 1529 he had obtained «of grace» the commandery of Dynemore, which Sir John Rawson senior had resigned on his return to the Priorate of Ireland, and after giving up the Turcopiliership (V. 414 f. 190). Sir John Babington, who had been received into the Order by l'Isleadam whilst in London, was a nephew of the Bailiff, and, most probably, the Sir Philip Babyngton received in 1531 in Malta and who left the island on the 18th. March 1533 (V. 415 f. 165), was another relative of the Bailiff of Eagle.

(2) Ms. 955 f. 17t. Under the 10th. December there is the entry of the payment of the relative fee «the proctors of f. thomas dingley paid for the membre of stangate geven unto hym by the chaptre Sc. VI» *ibi* f. 18.

(3) Vol. 185 f. 106.

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and Rogiers and Tyrrell were granted permission to leave Malta on the 7th. March 1536 (1).

The Knights Sir Christopher Myres and Sir David Gonson, on the 14th. of July 1536, received back the seniority they had forfeited on the 7th. October 1535 in punishment of faults committed by them and brought before the Council of the Order. On the 12th. August 1536, Sir Oswald Massingberd entered his protest against this concession which would injuriously affect his interests in the eventual smutitions for commanderies, and the Council declared that the concession was made without prejudice to his claim (2). The minutes of the 14th. July state that it «was of grace especiall granted that where f. david gonson was dyspensed of his antianitie shoulde retorne unto his estate that he was in before, that is to say, that he shoulde be of the passage of the Nycholas lambert»(3). Massingberd, who as will be seen in the Black Book of the Auberge, had also on some other count lost his seniority got it back on the 7th. September 1538 with a proviso in favour of John Babington on his obtaining any commandery (4).

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(1) Vol. 415 L B. 1531-34f. 168.

(2) Vol. 86 L. c. 1535-43 f. 35.

(3) Ms. 955 f. 19t.

(4) At a tong holdyng the VIIth day off september 1538 by the lycens off the most reverent lord master fra John homedeys than beyng tricoplier f clement west by the consent off the hole tong than beyng present, nemine discrepante, off a grace espesiall was grantyd the ansianyty off f hoswald massyngberd to be off the passage off cm.r tyryli and off f John babyngton off thys condession y.t the sayd f hoswold ys content not to demand no mannars off thyngs yt ys past but has from thys day forward for to enjoy all mannars off thyngs yt shall tuch hym by rank as comandrys or henny offyssys and premynensys belongyng to the religion towchyng the nashion off Jngland—and at sayd tyme was greyd betwyht f hoswold massyngberd and f John babyngton, confirmyd by the lord master, at the which of tham two be furst com r shall yearly gyve to the hym off the possession of the second fyfty scutts or crowns—and yff yt schanse henny off tham to refuse henny commandry yt towchyt hym and the (second) do take yt he shall not be bound to gyff hym such money—in the wytnys off truth all the hole tong than being present has underwrytyn

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Events in England and the condition to which the Church in that country had been reduced soon made themselves felt in Malta (1). All disputes about the possession of property, thenceforth become void of all practical utility and the contentions of the knights were restricted to claims to posts of honour, to admissions into the Tongue, and to trying to keep up what little property remained to the Tongue in Malta. Occasionally, however, someone tried to obtain commanderies or honours at home.

John Rawson died in 1547. On the 22nd. November 1541, he had been created by royal patent Viscount Clontarff, for life, (2). The Priorate of Ireland, now left vacant, excited the greed of Sir Oswald Massingberd who, profiting by the circumstance that he was the senior at the time in Malta, formally applied for it to the Council, on the 27th. August 1547 (3). The Council agreed to his request on

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theyrs nam and and at the yere and day above wrytyn —as god wyll— clement west—f thomas copuldyke — f edward browne — f wyllyam terell—f thomas thornhull—ser nycolas upton k—f phylype babington k—ser nycholas lamberd k—Alexr. Dundas»—Ms. 855 f. 45

(1) Vol. 85 L.C. 1526-35 f. 123 M.P.L.

(2) John Rawson son of Richard, Sheriff of London, and of Elisabeth Cratord, had been received knight before 1497. He was sent on a mission from Rhodes to Rome in 1510 and passing through Venice he was received with honour by the Doge. In 1511 he was appointed Prior of Ireland with a seat in the Irish House of Peers, and in 1517 he was made Government Treasurer of Ireland. On the Irish Privy Council he displayed ability and became the chief supporter of the Government. In Ireland he kept an establishment second only to that of the Lord Deputy. On the 22nd. November 1541, aft r prolonged negotiations, he surrendered the Priory, and Henry VIII created him Viscount Clontarff. On Sir Clement West's suspension from the Turcopiliership in 1533 and on his substitute Boydel's death, John Rawson junior, brother to the above, passed, by right of seniority, to this dignity He had, however, to resign it, at the Grand Master's request, to make room for the reintegration of West, demanded by the English Sovereigns. Rawson was thereupon awarded the Bailwick of Eagle, vacated by the death of Sir John Babington. (Bosio p. 139 an. 1534).

(3) Massingberd in 1543 had been elected Lieut. Turcopilier with a seat in Council; but the superintendence of the coastguards and of the Militia of Malta had already been entrusted to the Senescal (Cervantes) — Bosio an. 1541 p. 131.

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condition, that he was not to enjoy the honours and rights inherent to a Grand Cross of the Order and which belonged to the holder of the Irish Priorate, except after entering into the peaceful possession of the property of the same and of the rents belonging thereto (1).

Sir Nicholas Upton, Massingberd's senior, returned to Malta when the Magisterial bull in the latter's favour had already been issued. On the 1st. October 1547 a note was entered in the minutes of proceedings of the Tongue relative to the surrender of the rights, or to the acquiescence, on the part of Sir Nicholas Upton, *pro bono pacis*, to the accomplished fact. The note is in Italian. It is signed by Upton, frater Ant: Gufré and frater James de Mondragon representing Massingberd (2). On the 10th. of November 1548 Upton was installed in the Turcopiliership, rendered vacant by the death of Sir Gyles Russell. The minutes of the Tongue were this time written in Spanish and signed by de Mondragon (3).

Upton, as has already been related, lost his life in the defence of Malta. On his death Massingberd hastened to apply for the Turcopiliership. But the Council, now more on its guard, appointed a commission, on the 14th. November 1551, to report what steps Massingberd had taken towards recovering the property of his Priorate. On the 19th. of February

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(1) Vol. 87 L.C. 1543-48. f. 97.

(2) Ms. 955 f. 21—M.P.L.

(3) Ms. 955 f. 21t. «Oyattes dias del mes de novebre 1548—se a tenido la venerable lengua de ynglyterra con lisencja de m.o R.mo f Jhan homedes gran maestre—por esmutir la dignità de tyrcopuler en la qual el s. f.a nycolao hoptum demando por el como premjnente y byen merente y lu par tenjente de la dica dignidad vacante por morte del quondam fa. gyles rosel postier turcopuler y por q los. s. XVI hordinaro se esmutiese dica dynjdad e la quai todos los quen ella vaqallaro se la pasaion juxta dica ordinacion—y por ke. de verdad se sun escrijto a qui de suto Jo f.r Jacomo f mondragon co.r dyndurayon, como procurador del s.r prijor de yrlanda fo. hosuald masinberd—G. lecornu procureus de laniuidarvezze.»

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1554 the Council decided to postpone nomination until the Chapter General had met (1). The hopes raised by the accession of Mary Tudor to the English Throne and the restoration of the Priorate of Ireland, secured through the good offices of Cardinal Reginald Pole, put Massingberd «hors de combat». Massingberd was invested with the Priorate of Kilmainham, and Sir Richard Schelley was appointed Turcopilier by Philip and Mary themselves (2).

The Council, in Malta, first named, Sir George Dudley lieutenant Turcopolier, but on the 12th. August 1558 Sir Henry Gerard was appointed to the post (3). Gerard, on the 14th. December following, asked and obtained «his amntianity to meliorate upon all commanderies and dignites apon the venerande tonge of Jngland without preiudice of S.r Richard Shelley» (4).

On the 2nd. November of the same year the English Knights in Malta wishing to frame rules for the guidance of their re-established Tongue and to submit their proposals to the assembly or chapter, Sir James Schelley and Sir Oliver

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(1) Vol. 88 L.C. 1545-53 f. 99t. and f, 184.

(2) On the 11th. July 1553 Schelley had been sent by the Privy Council to announce to the Emperor Charles V the proclamation of Lady Jane Grey as Queen, but the Emperor did not receive him. (Rapin History of England).

(3) Vol. 90 L.C. 1558-60 f. 1 and 27.; Ms. 955 f. 34.

(4) «The xiiiith. of december a.o 1558. the tonge houlden by the licence of the lorde greate m.r ff.a Jhon de valleta, beinge president of the tonge fra George dudley. S.r henry gerard being the levetenant turcoplier demanded his amntianite to meliorate upon all commanderies and dignites apon the venerande tonge of Jngland without preiudice of s: richard shelley beinge at this present turcoplier of the said tonge. whereunto all the knyghts and brethern of the said reverend tonge agreed and accorded nemine discrepante.—fra george dudlay—el baylio del aguila p.o felizes de la nuça—shr. Jo James sandelandis—fra James shelley—olyver starkey. Ms. 955 f. 34.»

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Starkey were commissioned to draft these proposed regulations (1).

Sir Richard Schelley passed to the dignity of Grand Prior of England on the 20th. September 1561, in accordance with the application made in Malta on his behalf by his brother, Sir James (2).

When Sir Richard Schelley arrived in Malta in 1566 doubts arose as to what precedence to give him in the Council, owing to the anomalous position of the Tongue, now no longer possessed of its former effective authority and consistency, Mary Tudor's re-establishment of the Tongue in England having been reversed by Elisabeth. Eventually, Schelley was given the precedence formerly enjoyed the Prior of England. He was to sit in front of the Prior of Messina

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(1) M.d the ii of november a.o 1558 the tong houlden by the licence of the lorde greate Mr. fa Jhon de valetta beinge head of the tong s r henry Gerarde lieutenant turcoplier and by the consent of the whole tonge, was elected and chosen fa George Dudlay precurour for the brethern of the venerande tonge of Jngland in the chapitre provinciale next to be holden after the date above sayd,—in wytness whereof the whole tonge hathe subscribed ther names the day and year above wrytten.—and apon the same were elected and chosen by the saide venerande tong ii comissoiries that is to say s.r James shelley knight commander of Temple combe, and s.r Olyver starkey knight of commandre of Quenyngton, for to make drawe and devyst the rowle belonging to the same reverend tonge.—f henry jerard levetenant turcuplier—s.r Jo James sandelandis—f James shelley commander—s.r Olyver starkey comandr•. Ms. 955 f. 48 M.P.L.

(2) M.d that the xxth. of septemb.r 1561—the tong beinge houlden by the licence of my lord greate mr fr Jhon de valeta, s r Jeymes shelley knight as procuror unto his brother s.r richard shelley knight and turcoplier demanded better of the preiorie of Jngland for his said brother the w.ch priorie is vacant by the desease of the late prior s.r thomas tresham knight, the whiche the whole tong grainted nemine discrepante—that comying (?) the one shoulde leave the other.—at this was p.nt and president s.r oliver starkey knight lieutenant turcopl.—oliver starkey lieut. turcopl.—el baylio del aquila felizes.— Ms. 955 f. 54.

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and opposite to the Bali Castellan of Emposta (1) «Sedeant prout hactenus» say the decrees of 12th. July 1567 and 15th. May 1595 according to Cagliola's commentaries on the statutes (2).

In such an exclusively aristocratic corporation great importance was necessarily attached to honours and to the rights of precedence deriving therefrom, so much so that the precedence in Council next to the Grand Master given to the Bishop of Malta was, on the 19th. February 1553, approved under protest of the representatives of the Tongues of England and Germany. And the Bailiff Phillip Felizes de la Nuça, considered «tamquam anglico et regniculo Regni Angliae», on his elevation to the Bailiwick of Eagle by Philip and Mary, was allowed by the Council his pre-eminences of Grand Cross «solummodo et dumtaxat» in respect of the Tongue of England: such pre-eminences were not to hold good in the Spanish Langue in which De la Nuça had been received and of which he held a commandery before his appointment to the dignity referred to (3).

THE BLACK BOOK OF THE AUBERGE.

The frequent contentions for the acquisition of honours, pre-eminences, etc., as might be expected,among high-mettled and lively young English, Welsh, Irish and Scotch knights, were seeds of discord, bickerings and quarrels, often leading to fight sand bloodshed,—with consequent punishments which are recorded in the registers of the Chancery.

We should not be astonished to find in the Council references to various faults committed by knights of the

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(1) Vol. 91 f. 162. Sir Oliver Starkey registered this decision in the Minutes on the 25th. October 1567, and Porter, in «The Knights of Malta», edition 1858, gives its translation into English, Vol 2 p. 305-308.

(2) Ms. 204 f. 110t. M.P.L.

(3) Vol. 90 L.C. 1558-60 f. 27. Decree 5th. October 1558.

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Tongue of England at a time when every trifling incident seems to have been sufficient to set alight bonfires even among the other nationalities of the Order. Such incidents enable us to gain a better insight into the character of some of the English Brethren in the dearth of other evidence which might have become available had not the period of their activities in these islands been so short. The spirit of independence permeating the rank baronial to which the Knights belonged, and the fact that the greater part of the Albergists were youngmen undergoing the training required by the rules, ought to have due weight in forming our judgment. Lightheads and restless characters are to be found amongst all ranks of society. Those who were brought up in an atmosphere which insensibly imbued them with an exaggerated notion of their individual importance, could not easily bend to discipline and to the requirements of the Hospitaller rules.

Thus we learn from the Council records that: On the 13th. March 1534 the Knights Oswald Massingberd and James Hussey, came into collision with the Knights William Tyrrel and Nicholas Upton. To prevent their having recourse to arms the Grand Master and Council put all four under arrest in their houses (1). Massingberd was moreover pro-

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(1) Vol. 85 f. 110t. These quarrels are on a par with those of knights of other Langues noted in the same registers. A Bernardino de Mendoça, a knight of the Langue of Castile,—probably the same who later on was Philip II's Ambassador to the Court of Queen Elisabeth— was condemned, on the 19th. December 1569, to *loss of habit*, for striking his chief, Ferdinando de Alarcon, Grand Chancellor. (Vol. 22 L. C. 1567-70 f. 178) Pietro de Mendoça, an influential knight, set himself to avenge Bernardino. He put in readiness in his house pickaxes, halberds, muskets, morions,gun powder provisions and soldiers. Alarcon, on the other hand, collected arms and ammunition. Everything on both sides showed a determination to fight to a finish. The Grand Master and Council on the 11th. January 1570, after having exhausted all means to reconcile the two parties, ordered them both to leave the Island at once. (Vol. 92 f. 180).

In the Italian Auberge knights who opposed the admission of the noblemen Antonio Fagni and Guido Guidetto tore up their proofs of

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secuted, and, on the 20th. of the same month, condemned to be imprisoned in Gozo. He was accused of conspiring against the life of the Grand Master and to have intended to kill him on his leaving the Council. Special Commissioners, appointed on the 13th. April reported to the Council that Massingberd had boasted of having killed four slaves, chained by their legs to the galleys, because they had not been good enough to get him rid of the old Grand Master (1). He was in consequence condemned to *loss of habit*, which amounted to his exclusion from his privileged state of knight and brought him under the common law of the State, subject to undergo the penalties sanctioned by the Common Code. The *sguardio*, which was the supreme tribunal for knights in criminal matters, assembled, and confirmed the sentence. But at the assembly of the Knights in the Church of St. Lawrence at Birgu, in which the formal stripping off of the habit was to take place, Massingberd asked for mercy, and the Grand Master commuted his punishment into forfeiture of the commandery he held and loss of two years seniority (2).

On the 13th. of November of the same year 1534 Massingberd was again brought before the Council for having come to blows with John Babington junior, in an assembly

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nobility. The Council, on the 31st. March 1567, condemned the knights Ant. Martelli, Dachio Carducci, Francesco Taddei, Gentile Sassetti, Antonio Buondelmonte, Vincenzo Capone, Nicola Valori, P. F. Rucellai and Raynaldo Gondi, each to three years confinement. Whilst undergoing punishment, on the 7th. May following, Capone, being out with the others on the Belvedere of Fort S. Angelo, disregarding his being under arrest, assaulted the Nobleman Ottavio Vitaleschi, cutting him with his sword on the right arm and knee and on the left thigh.

Seventy French Knights, in November 1645, were opposed to the admission of four nobles in the Langue de Provence. They forcibly carried them on board a vessel to see them off. But the vessel was unable to leave on account of rough weather, and thus the Grand Master had time to interfere. He caused the four noblemen to be taken to S. Angelo and to be protected from further insult. (Piccolomini, Corrispondenza tra Roma e l'Inquisitore di Malta—Arch. St. Italiano an. 1908 p. 63).

(1) Vol. 85 L.C. 1526-35 f. 112. M.P.L

(2) Vol. 85 f. 114.

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held in the Auberge. They tore off one another's beard! Massingberd got three months imprisonment in the Tower at Fort St. Angelo (1); Babington (2) was sentenced to *quarantaine*, which entailed low diet for 40 days and flagellation twice a week during the same period. (3)

On the recommendation of the Tongue, Massingberd, after four years, received back the seniority which he had been made to lose in 1534 (4). But his somewhat querulous disposition brought him again into trouble. Appointed Prior of Ireland, he criticized in unmeasured language certain restrictions laid by the Grand Master on the exercise of the prerogatives of his newly acquired dignity. For this offence he was put under arrest on the 8th. September 1547 (5). Not even his subsequent appointment to the Lieutenant-Turcopiliership could curb his fiery temper. Within a few months of his being raised to this dignity we find him again placed under arrest for two months and condemned to return a slave forcibly taken by him from the house of a Nobleman. Not satisfied with this feat Massingberd capped it by boxing the ears of Paolo Fiteni, the Nobleman in question, pretending that he had previously bargained for the purchase of that particular slave (6).

Such disorderly incidents were not, evidently, of rare

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(1) Vol. 85 f. 123t. There were prisons for the Knights in Fort St. Angelo, in the Grand Masters' Palace, in Fort St. Elmo and in Gozo.

(2) Sir John was the second son of Thomas Babington in the county of Darby and of Edith daughter of Ralph Fitz-Herbert of Norbury.

(3) For lesser offences members of the Order were subject to the punishment called *septaine*. This penalty obliged the offender to keep his room and to fast for seven successive days, on the Wednesday and Friday of which his diet was restricted to bread and water, and he was to receive corporal discipline during the recitation of the psalm *Deus misereatur nostri*. Sta :ilimenta Ordinis, Salamanticae 1534 f. 54 §. 63, T. 12 De inhibitionibus et poenis.

(4) Vol. 86 f. 66.

(5) Vol. 87 f. 97.

(6) Vol. 88 f. 120. Oswald Massingberd was the second son of Sir Thomas Massingberd of Sutton in the county of Lincoln and of Joan daughter and heiress of John Braytoft of Braytoft.

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occurrence. Sir John Babington and Sir Harry Gerard were sent to the Tower on 3rd. September 1534,—there to remain during the pleasure of the Lieutenant Grand Master and Council, —for having spread false reports affecting the Lieutenant Grandmaster, Sir Henry Pole, Lieutenant Turcopilier, and Sir Richard Bruke, the two latter representating the Tongue in the then pending Magisterial Election (1). On the 5th. September 1535 Sir George Aylmer was condemned to forced domicile in Gozo (2). On the 7th. October of the same year Christopher Myres, (3) David Gonson and Phillip Babington fought to the shedding of blood. On the 11th. February 1536 the Turcopilier, Sir Clement West, reported to the Council the unbecoming behaviour of

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(1) Vol. 85 f. 121.

(2) Vol. 86 f. 2.

(3) Myres was an exceptionally bad specimen. On the 13th. October 1536 he was convicted of having murdered « turpissime et miserabiliter in proprio cubiculo mulierem quandam fere fatua cum qua consuetudine habuerat», Myres made good his escape, and was, in his absence, expelled from the Order «tamquam membrum fetidum extra congregationem fratrum ejectus fuit» Vol. 86 f. 38t.

Some of the young knights, unfortunately, seem to have fallen into follies which are the usual concomitants of libertinism; else there would have been no necessity for the following statute: «Whosoever shall enter into the house of a citizen without being invited, and against the wish of the head of the family, or shall disturb the social gatherings of the people during their festivals, dances, weddings, or similar occasions, shall lose two years seniority without hope of pardon. And moreover, whosoever, either by day or by night, shall damage the doors or windows of the people, then, in addition to the above-named penalties, he shall suffer such rigid imprisonment as may be decreed by the Grand-Master and Council. Any member of the Order joining in masquerades or ballets, shall suffer loss of seniority».

One may imagine that not all the young noblemen joining the Order were imbued with the true spirit which the Hospitaller service demanded, and that to such youths, in no way excluded from female society, the virtue of chastity was not of easy observance, expecially as, in entering the Corporation, they were inspired more by the thought of gaining military renown than by that of practising ascetic piety. This is at least the inference which the laws laid down in the penal code suggest. Stabilimenta. Salmanticae 1534 §§. 37 and 87.

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some of his knights; and on the 1st. March he again lodged a complaint against Sir Anthony Bentham (1).

On the 1st. September 1563 Sir John J. Sandilands was sent to the Tower for two months for quarreling in Church. He also had a dispute with Sir Oliver Starkey, the Lieutenant Turcopilier, in the Magisterial Palace itself. In reference to this same Sandilands, we read in the records of criminal prosecutions, under the 22nd. November 1558, that he had been wounded with a sharp blade in the head and in the hand (2) by the knight Elias de Cugnac, as he was

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It must in fairness be added, however, that in my researches I have not come across excesses similar to those for which Myres was ejected from the fraternity.

(1) Vol. 86 ff. 22t. and 25.

(2) Vol. 2237 P. R. M. The wounds would seem to have been the consequence of a duel concealed under the guise of an accidental encounter to evade the severest penalties attached to the crime of duelling. The Statutes enacted that: «To check the impiety of those who, neglecting the safety of their souls, invite others to a duel and expose their bodies to a cruel death, we decree that if one brother provokes another, or if he defy him either by speech or in writing, by means of a second, or in any other manner, and that the one who is called out does not accept the duel, in addition to the penalities decreed by the Sacred Council and by the Constitution of Gregory XIII of blessed memory, the challenger shall be deprived of his habit in perpetuity without any remission... Should both parties have proceeded to the tryst even though no blood be spilt, they shall not only be deprived of their habit, but shall afterwards be handed over to the secular power. He who advises, assists or counsels one to issue a challenge, or acts as his second or is present at the encounter, shall be condemned to loss of habit.» Stabilimenta militum, Salamanticae 1534 § 83. f. 55. It was always difficult to prevent duels among so many hot-headed youths especially among novices, keenly alive to an affront and ever ready to resent it, and who regarded personal courage as the first of all human virtues. It was therefore sought to evade the heavy penalties sanctioned, by looking on such combats as casual encounters. In Valletta, Strada Stretta, so called because of its narrowness, has been assumed to have been the rendezvous for affairs of honour. The seconds posted themselves one on either side at some little distance from their principals, and with their swords drawn, prevented the passers-by from approaching the scene until the conflict had been brought to a conclusion. Such

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leaving the house of the Prior of St. Gyles at 2 o'clock at night. They had been playing cards (*tre sette*) at the Priors' and Sandilands had a heated altercation with one of the commanders who were having a hand in the game. (1) Sandilands later on, fell under suspicion of being the author of a theft of plate from the small church of St Anthony at Birgu. He was apprehended and confessed, under torture, the theft, declaring that he had melted the silver and shared it with two others. He was thereupon deprived of his habit of Knight and remitted to the secular power, to be dealt with according to the common law of the land. He was in consequence condemned to death, executed, and his corpse thrown into the gutter (2).

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is Porter's statement in his History of the Knights. I have not, so far, come across any record lending support to this statement, but I must say that among the old inhabitants of Valletta the impression seems to have prevailed that Strada Stretta was the Knights' meeting place for duels.

(1) Vol. 91 f. 128 and 129t. P.R.M. The penal code of the Knights did not provide for a sentence of death. If a knight, however, were guilty of a crime so heinous as to call for such a penalty, as a preliminary measure he was stripped of his habit, which was equivalent to expulsion from the ranks of the fraternity. Being no longer a member of the Order, the culprit was then handed over to the Civil Power, and treated like any ordinary criminal. The method sometimes adopted for carrying out capital sentences consisted in sewing up the condemned criminal in a sack and throwing him into the sea.

(2) This was the identical John James Sandilands who had been received into the Order and preferred to Anthony Gueffre in 1554, and the admission of whose proofs of nobility had been opposed by his namesake, Commander James Sandilands. Having performed the requisite caravans John James laid claim to and obtained on 2nd. December 1559, the expectancy to the commandery of Torphichen. «Wherin Sir John James Sandilands knight demanded his ancianity upon the comandry of Torphychen» (Ms.955 f. 101 M. P. L.): and on 12th. August 1560 Sir Henry Gerard, Commander of Yevelly and Barrow, Sir James Schelley, Commander of Templecombe, and Sir George Dudley were deputed to instal him in the said Commandery (V. 90. f. 109 P.R.M.). - It was known by that time in Malta that the former Commander of Torphichen, Sir J. Sandilands had been perverted by John Knox, turned Protestant and married, probably availing himself of Henry's act of Parliament (37. Hen. VIII, c.31) authorising the marriage of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

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Sir Clement West and the Gold Mace.

The doings of the Turcopilier Sir Clement West also deserve attention. He had been installed Turcopilier since 7th. January 1531. As such he was the chief and the representative of the Venerable Tongue of England. L'Isleadam had not been satisfied with the way West carried on the administration of the revenue in England, on account of his unduly delaying the remittance of payments due to the common Treasury. But when West returned to Malta, his behaviour caused even greater dissatisfaction. He assumed, in the seat and dominion of this Sacred Military Order of St. John and in its Council, a character that smacked too much of national independence. He in fact made display of a jurisdictional authority by the British Sovereignty which was quite incompatible with the very nature of the Corporation of the Knights Hospitallers, and with its presupposed neutrality, freedom of action, and independence from all aspirations and influence of exterior powers.

On his esecutcheon, West placed the Lion of England over the eight-pointed cross of the Order. He moved about preceded by a mace-bearer, carrying a golden mace or staff-of-command with the Royal arms of England, evidently as a sign of his authority and jurisdiction. (1) In this guise he presented himself in the Palace of the Sovereign Prince of Malta, the Grand-Master L'Isleadam,—in the Castle of St. Angelo,—and before the Council, which represented the supremacy and sovereignity of the Order.

The powers wielded by the Turcopilier in regard to the defence of the territory of the Order gave such ascendancy, weight and importance to the person vested with that dignity and to the Venerable Tongue to which he belonged, that the Grand Master and Council could

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(1) A similar golden mace or scepter is noted to have been in the possession of the Grand Prior Thomas Docwra A sum of £ 5. 15s.4d. due for this mace appears among that Prior's debts paid after his death. « Item recepte de Johanne fflemyng serviente dñi regis ad arma per manus Willm. meers pro precio cuiusdam ceptri habentis sculpta regia insigna aurata ———— —— Vli. XVs. IIIId. » Ms. 926. M.P.L.

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not allow him to assume and display in this their Court and seat, prerogatives other than those conferred upon him by the cosmopolitan Corporation.

Consequently, at a given moment, how, or by whom, we are not told, this mace or staff of-command was taken hold of and made to disappear — West became furious. — On the 28th March 1533 he lodged a formal complaint before the Council and imperiously demanded the restitution of his mace (1). The Bali Marshal, chief of the Langue of Provence and of the police of the Order, and the Bali Admiral, chief of the Langue of Italy, were given the requisite authority to deal with the matter, but, apparently, they took no steps to find out and restore West's favourite symbol.

At that time the Chapter General of the Order, the first one to be held in these Islands, was about to meet. The Priors of England and Ireland and the Bailiff of Eagle had appointed proxies to represent them in the Chapter. These proxies did not belong to the Tongue of England.

At the preliminary meeting of the Chapter General West took exception to the proxies referred to. He maintained that they could not vote for the XVI Capitulars usually appointed for the despatch of business. He contended that the representatives of the Tongue of England must be members thereof; that the knights in question could not in fact have a vote at all in the Chapter; and that they could only defend the interests of their authors. The objection, however, was not held to be valid except in so far as it referred to the two of the XVI Capitulars who were to represent the Tongue of England (2).

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(1) Vol. 85 f. 97. « Audita requisitione venerandi Turcopuleri quod *sceptrum* seu *la maza* Venerandae Linguae Angliae perquiri et inveniri debeat — Reverendissimus D.M.M. et ven. C. commiserunt venerandis marescallo et admirato ut super id diligenter inquirant se informent testes examinent et referant. »

(2) « Quia vener. Priores Angliae et Hyberniae ac etiam baiulivs Aquilae constituerant procuratores qui non erant de lingua ad interessendum dicto capitulo et quorum procuratoria admissa jam fuerant, vend.us Turcopulerius conquestus est quod dicti procuratores debeant esse de *eadem lingua* et quod vota dare non poterant neque in electione dic.rum

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These were elected in the persons of West himself and of Sir Roger Boydel.

At the first meeting of the Chapter, held on the afternoon of the same day, West, incensed at the rejection of his objection, so far forgot himself as to insult the representatives of the absent English dignitaries, swearing at them and calling them *Saracens*, *Jews* and *bastards*. «At injurias persiliit et blasfemias c. deum, dictos procuratores saracenos, judeos et bastardos appellavit. Quorum querela audita cum non desisteret asserens se nescire si judei essent quia non erant Angli... » At this point, with a view to bring the incident to an end without disturbing the proceedings of the Chapter, it was deemed sufficient, after consultation, that West should be requested to apologise. But the irate Turcopilier was in no mood for apologies; he imprecates, swears, throws his mantle of state to the ground, unsheaths his sword, and leaves the Hall in a towering passion. (1).

The scandal could now no longer be hushed up. West had to be sent to the Tower, and regular proceedings instituted against him in terms of the Statutes. That very evening Sir Richard Bruck, who had received in the morning the same number of votes as Boydel, was called to substitute the imprisoned Turcopilier among the sixteen Capitulars. On the 25th. of February West was deprived of the habit and Sir Roger Boydel was elected Turcopilier. (2).

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sexdecim neque in cap lo sed tantum causam suorum principalium defendere—et auditis partibus fuit declaratum quod in electione pro dictis sexdecim vota dare non poterant quia illi d. debent esse eiusdem linguae, sed tamen in cap.lo iamque incorporati et procu res suos principalium vota sua cum coeteris dare poterant ». Vol 286 f. 32.

(1) Vol. 286 Cap. Gen. 1525-32-38 f. 32t.; V. 86 L. Cons. 1537-42 f. 282; « de capitulo recessit et sic spoliatus demum suam vz. albergiam venerandae linguae angliae non sine magno scandalo ac vituperio tum religionis tum dignitatis suae accessit. » V. 286 f. 36.

(2) Vol. 286 f. 36 and ff. 94 and 97. The loss of the habit brought with it as a consequence imprisonment Such was the law enacted by Grand Master Roger de Pin and incorporated in the statutes De inhibitionibus et poenis § 23. Salam. 1534

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In England the news of West's degradation and imprisonment reached the ears of Henry VIII. It was represented to Henry that West was being punished for having carried the Royal arms. «Non alia ratione», Sir John Sutton (1) reported, «fr.em Clementem West privatum fuisse dignitate Turcopilieratus et convectum in carcerem quam quod regia Angliae insigna in quadam clava sculpta gestari ante se voluisset in Palatio atque in Consilio magistri».

The King took umbrage and manifested his intention of retaliating. The Grand Prior of England and Thomas 3rd. Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal and uncle of Anne Boleyn, sought at once to ward off any evil consequences by promising to obtain full satisfaction from the Grand Master. (2).

The Duke wrote a letter on the 23rd. November 1533 asking for West's reinstatement. This letter, one written by Weston on the 5th. November, and the evidence given by Sir John Sutton, the Grand Prior's special envoy, were read in Council on the 23rd February of

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(1) On the English Receiver's accounts (Ms. 926) the following entry shows the amounts paid to Sutton at Lyons on the 17th. November 1533, to come to Malta to report Henry's views on the subject.

«Item solute antonio vivaldo viginti quinque libell.arum pro 100 scutis solis incluso denaro regio recept. per dñm receptorem fre.m Joh.m sutton Lugduni decimo septimo die Novembris 1533 dum pro urgenti religionis causa Melitem pergeret et decem solid. pro *declaratione litterarum Rmi Dñi* ut per quietantiam dn. Antonii Datum Londini secundo die Decembris 1533. XXVli. Xd.

Item solute Rco. Crumwell familiari et cognato dño Thome Crumwell secretario in recessu dñi Darcwe receptoris Avernie qnamquidem Ri.cus solicitaverit regias !ras easde.mque obsignatas dco. dño Darewe tradidit XLVs.».

(2) Die XXIIII februarii 1533 ab incarnatione In ordinario consilio congregato (ut moris) est in aula Castelli Melitensis fr Joannes Sotton commendatarius et receptor gn.lis in Prioratu Angliae, unde nuper redierat, publice reddidit quasdam lras Ill.mi Nortfordiae ducis R.mo D. Magno Magistro eiusque consilio scriptas; Quas eo, quem decet honore ab omnibus acceptas idem R mus D. legi palam iussit Tale est harum exemplum.—A Monsieur le Grand Maistre de St. Jehan

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the following year 1534. L'Isleadam referred to the King in highest terms of commendation, calling him the «Special Protector of the Order,» and in common with the Council, repudiated the calumny as to the alleged object of West's punishment.

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de jerusalem et aux aultres messieurs du d t Ordre,—Monsieur et Missieurs de si bon cueur que faire puis a vous me recomander. Estant adverty de la grosse rigeur qui a este tenue par de la a Mr. West commandeur de v.re religion non seulement en le deprivant de son office de Turcoplero, mais aussi ayant saysy ses biens et detenant sa persone en prison. Pour la singuliere faveur et affection que Je porte a vous et toute la religion vous ay bien voulu adviser et prier par les p ntes que sans faire difficulte vous vueillez remettre le dit Mr. West a pleine et entiere liberte et delivrance de son corps et le restituer en son dit office de Turcoplero et aultres biens de sorte quel s'en puisse retourner par deca en son entier come il en partit ; car autrement le cas seroit desplaisant, et pourroit tourner au grand preiudice de toute la religion en temps advenir comme le recepteur gñal de vre ordre par de ca porteur des pñtes vous sceaura bien amplement recompter Je vous prie luy donner ferme foy et credence. Et ce faisant pouvez estre certains que la on vous scouray faire gratuite et plaisir Ie me y employeray de tres bon coeur. Tant Monsieur et Messieurs ñre Siegneur vous ait en sa tressancte garde—De Grenewiche le VI de Novembre l an cinqcenstrente et trois—le tout vre amy - T. Norffolk—Dedit insuper idem fr Joannes Sotton et alias lras R.di Prioris Angliae ad ipsum R.mum Magnum Magistrum quae publice quoque lecta sunt et sic habent.

Cum quod apud nos R me Dne. quod vel ñre religionis grave admodum dispendium respiciat prae manibus habeatur id exemplo tuae D. significare mei officii esse semper existimavi ut nutantibus non tamen prorsus dirutis rebus tuae prudentiae singulari ope succurratur. Rem igitur sic habeat T. D. paucis preateritis diebus dum Ill.mus Princeps dux Norfolciae ac quam plurimi alii regni Proceres regiis negociis peragendis una adessent, de fre Clemente West sermo incidit, Isque diu prokuditur Causam quoque cur vinculis, cum detruditur t.n quod hactenus detineatur, quare Turcopuleriatus dignitate deijicitur accuratissime trutinatur. Alii aliam supicabantur causam, at omnium fere sententia erat, id totum effectum esse, quod clavam (cui regia celantur insigna) prae se gestari contendebat, etiam infra tuas aedes et palacium, inque tuae D. pñtia et publicis consiliis. Id quod jure et praescripta consuetudine [prout praefato Ill.mo Principi et Proceribus tum litteris tum etiam nuncio, quibus haud dubia fides habetur] per latum est] facere potuit. Verum cum dictam clavam T. D. sic gestari non modo vetuit et prohibebat, at ipsum frem Clementem quod tam

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With a view, however, fully to bring out the truth a special commission was appointed to deal with the matter, and West himself was brought before the Council to give his own

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anxie regium sollicitaverit (ut volunt) honorem carceris poena atque infamia notari percepit, quam rem non tantum in regni et procerum dedecus, sed in ipsius inde Regis vilipendium peractam esse omnes uno ore unaque voce adclamabant iratoque animo omnes in te obnixe excandescebant. Postridie quae haec agebantur in regiam veni, ac una cum Christianissimo Regis Oratore tuae D. nepote Ill.mum Ducem adivi, supplicavimus ambo ut rem boni consuleret et causam ab integro animadverteret, cepimus rem ipsam explicare; at paucis accepimus animum Ducis longe obversum tanque fidem illum adhibere Iris ad eum hac in re destinatis ut aliorsum dissuadere nrum non erat. Proinde post plurima alia ab eo recitata tandem mihi persuasit atque praecepit (si modo religioni bene optarem) ut apud T. D. quantum possem efficerem, ut dictus fr Clemens vinculis et carcere eximatur quam primum, status ei reintegretur et Turcopuleriatu rursus donetur; alioquin haud dubie magnum imminet religioni periculum, quod coelites omnes avertant et T D. paucis annis incolumen observent tueanturque Diu valeat T. D. R.ma. Londini V.o Kl. Novembris MLXXXIII. E. D. T. Humill. obedien. prior vri Prioratus Anglie ac locumtenens in eodem—William Weston—Quibus cum admiratione auditis, interrogatus est idem Jo: Sotton (cui hac iure fidem haberi volebat Ill.mus dux Norfordiae) ecquid apud suos accepisset de tam turpi et impudenti mendacio! Respondit vulgatum esse in aula apud regem et prios regni consiliarios non alia ratione frem Clementem West privatum fuisse dignitate turcopileriatus et convectum in carcerem quam quod regia Angliae insignia in quadam clava sculpta gestari ante se voluisset in Palatio atque in concilio magistri. Idque literis fris Clementis hinc in Angliam missis et speciali nuncio cognitum fuisse instanterque rogavit (uti iussus erat) nomine Ill.mi Ducis Nortfordiae et R.di Prioris Angliae ut protinus carcere liberaretur et in pristinam dignitatem reponeretur.

Quod cum intellexissent qui cum R.mo D. magno magistro in consilio sedebant admirati omnes et egerrime ferentes tantam et tam insignem calumniam religioni impinge jusserunt de comuni sententia ut dictus fr Clemens West proximo consilio adesset iisque responsurus et causam de prescriptis dicturus. Hanc autem sententiam (quo veniret ipse paratior) ei statim nunciare voluerunt per dictum frem Joannem Sotton simul cum magno scutifero publico religionis officiario—assignato eidem fratri Clementi, carceris vice, toto castello Melitensi, quam magnum et spaciosum est. Actum in consilio ordinario anno et die scriptis in principio. (Vol. 85. L. C. 1525-35 f. 109.)

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version of the affair. (1). Moreover, in deference to the King's wishes, a relaxation of West's imprisonment was granted by constituting the whole Castle of St. Angelo as his prison instead of the dungeon in which he had previously been placed. On the 25th. of February West declared to the Council that he had not written to London in the sense attributed to him, but that he himself still believed that his punishment was due to his having borne the royal arms (2). The Grand Master

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(1) Die XXV februarii 1533 ab incarnatione. Venit in consilium (ut mandatum erat) fr. Clemens West, cui fuit audienti et intelligente lecta utraque epistola per me vice-cancellarium ac postea interrogatus super his respondit publice numquam se in Angliam tale aliquid scripsisse. Dixit tamen verum esse et firmiter credere quod propter gestationem clavae detrusus fuerat in carcerem et postmodum dignitate Turcopileriatus privatus Quo audito R.mus Magnus Mag.r ut religionis et consilii caput, in hanc sententiam loquutus est. R.di D., et fres, nostra haec religio ab oi antiquitate semper habuit inter coeteros principes christianos, protectorem suum, serenissimum Angliae regem, Quem (ut scitis omnes et ego plus omnibus) in universis ñris rebus, quantuncumque afflictis experti sumus favorem adiutoremque paratissimum. Nollem itaque nobis ordinique ñro propter meritum talem notam juris, qualem modo videtis. Ideo peto et postulo quam vehementer possum n.trum ac totius religionis nomine, ut ex ñris eligantur aliqui, ad investigandam primo causam carceris fris Clementis West; deinde qui eam privationem dignitatis Turcopileratus inquirant, et qui demum (acceptis etiam legitimis si necessarium videatur, fratrum nostrorum testimoniis) crimen hoc nobis objectum refellant apud regiam Maestatem, redigentes in acta publica et authentica quicquid hoc de negotio compertum habebunt. —Justissima visa est omnibus hujusmodi petitio. Quare comuni consensu tres electi sunt, quibus id negocii commissum est: R.dus Drapperius, D. fr d.o Baptista de Villaragut nationis et linguae hispaniae, R.dus Prior Pisarum D. fr Aurelius de Butigella nationis Italiae, et fr Edoardus Belingen locumtenens venerandi Turcopulerii nationis Anglicae. Quos tres habuit gratos et probatos dictus fr. Clemens West. Praeterea fuit iniunctum, eodem consentiente, fri Raymundo Beneytes militi hispano de lingua Aragoniae utriusque juris doctori ut apud datos commissarios religionis honorem, ac beneficium juridice procuraret, videretque diligenter ne quid inde detrimenti pateretur. Actum in publico consilio cui omnes omnium nationum fratres adfuerunt, sicuti illis praeceptum erat per R.mum D. in vim promissae obedientiae. Anno et die suprascriptis.» —Vol. 85 f. 109t. and 110.

(2) Vol. 85 f. 108t. and 110.

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and Council were evidently in no hurry to arrive at a definite conclusion. On the 13th. April 1534 Sir John Babington and other members of the Tongue applied to the Council for redress on the plea that West had slandered them; and a new commission was appointed to enquire into this complaint. In the meantime Sir Roger Boydel, who had substituted West in the Turcopiliership, died in Malta, and Sir John Rawson (1), Commander of Quenington, brother to the Prior of Ireland, was appointed Turcopilier (2). Rawson, on the 15th. February 1535, passed to the Bailiwick of Eagle, vacated by the death of Sir John Babington (3), and thus, the question of appointing a new Turcopilier again cropped out.

In these circumstances Sir Gyies Russell, the Lieutenant Turcopilier, adroitly called attention to the expediency of reconsidering West's case, and the Council, on the 25th. February 1535, decided to postpone the consideration of the matter «until the return of the vessel sent to England» (4). West's position had in the meantime been considerably improved by L'Isleadam's having passed to a better life (21st. August 1534). West's old colleagues and co-dignitaries in Council ordinary, under the new Grand Master Pierino de Ponte, now held that he had repented; and, there being nothing against him in his relations with the Common Treasury, he was eventually invested anew with the Turcopiliership (5).

(1) In a deed entered into in London, the 15th. May 1528, in the presence of Grand Master L'Isleadam, both Rawsons are mentioned, one with the qualification of «Prior of Ireland» and the other with that of «Commander of Quenington.» Vol. 413 f. 21. P. R. M.

(2) Vol. 415 f. 166t.

(3) Vol. 416 f. 154.

(4) Vol. 85 f. 120t. Eadem die, (22. Feb 153.5) audita petitione D. locumtementis vend. Turcopilerii Rmus. D.M.M. et C. optimis quibusdam rationibus et legitimis causis moti decreverunt: supersedeatur in smotatione Turcopuleriatus usque ad redditum navis. Vol. 85 f. 127. I am unable to ascertain what was the connection in the mind of the Council between the return of the vessel and the question of reconsidering West's case. Presumably the returning vessel was expected to bring news bearing upon the subject.

(5) Vol. 85 ff. 128t. and 131.

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Nor were the Council satisfied with this general whitewashing of the refractory Turcopilier. On the 10th. of July of the same year, they further granted him the reversion of the other dignities of the Tongue; and, on the 22nd. of November, at the death of Pierino de Ponte, they appointed him to conduct the Magisterial election of his successor. (1).

West's self-restraint and good behaviour, under the weight of his revived dignities, were only short-lived. At the first stumbling block after his rehabilitation, his impetuosity again got the better of him. In 1536, presuming that he was to be named Treasurer, he insulted Garcia Cortes, an Aragonese knight, who had actually been appointed to that office. The knights of Aragon at once stood up for their comrade's rights and would have despatched West there and then had he not been protected by the Grand Marshal, John de Chasteau Arnault, whom the Spaniards trusted. (2) On the 10th. September 1537 West was convicted of disturbances and provocation to duel (3). On the 21st. February 1539 he was put under arrest for three months, which term, on the 20th. May, was extended to other four months. On the 3rd. September 1539 he was again deprived of the dignity of Turcopilier by the Council of Retentions. This was on a remonstrance presented by the Knights of the Tongue of England themselves, who took exception to West's re-instatement by the Council ordinary whilst he had been deprived of the habit by the Chapter General. On the 10th. November the Turcopliership was conferred on Sir Gyles Russell (4).

Henry VIII, in the Act of Dissolution of 1540, c. 24, assigned West two hundred pounds sterling a year (5), under the general condition that he should reside «within the realm.» That condition could not be fulfilled, because West was in

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(1) Vol. 85 L. C. 1525-35 f. 136t. and Vol. 416 L. Bib. 1534-37 f. 155 Vol. 86 L. Cons. an. 1535-43 f. 11.

(2) Bosio Historia p 3. f 160; Boysatt, Hist. de l'Ordre. Lyons 1612 v. 2 p. 560.

(3) Vol. 86 f. 54.

(4) Vol. 86 ff. 74, 78, 88, and Vol. 286 Cap. Gen. 1538. f. 120.

(5) Statutes of the realm, London 1817- Vol. 3 f. 778.

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prison in Malta. This much may be gathered from the instructions (15th. September 1540) given by the Grand Master to the Knights Enrico Pereira and L. La Valle Passe, Commander of Flanders, who were sent as envoys to the English Sovereign (1). In these instructions the whole story of West's vagaries is made out over again, with the additional information that in 1539 Sir Nicholas Lambert, West's agent, had also been imprisoned, for displaying too much arrogance and impertinence in West's defence. The instructions concluded with the declaration, that West would not be sent to England before the account of the occurrence to be given by the envoys to the English Sovereign had been heard and a new peremptory royal order for West's return had been received in Malta.—It does not appear that such an order was ever given, and therefore, in all probability, West ended his troubled career in Malta.

Sir James Sandilands and Sir George Dudley

Unfortunately, during the period of transition from effective to nominal existence of the Tongue, there was no intelligent scrutiny of the candidates for admission by their own nationals. Thus certain candidates were received who must have been deficient in the intensity of Faith and sincerity of conviction which the case required. We know that James Sandilands was received into the Order in Malta, on the 22nd December 1540, against the opinion of the Tongue. The Grand Master and Council on the 17th February 1541 appointed Sir James procurator of the property of the Order in Scotland, granting him the reversion to the Commandery of Torphichen provided the receipts of the first three years after its falling vacant were remitted to the Common Treasury. On the 3rd. of March instructions were given him to keep himself informed as to the state of affairs in England and to join the then Commander of Torphichen, Sir Walter Lindsay, in inducing the King of England, through the Scotch ambassador at the Court of St. James, to grant a modification of the measures taken against the Tongue

(1) Vol.286 f. 131; vol 417 e b. 1535-42 f. 281 t. and 238.

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and the Order (1).

Sandilands left Malta during the month. When he reached his own country, he first vacillated and then, in 1553, fell altogether under the influence of his great friend, John Knox, the champion of the Reformation. On his return to Malta in 1557, to oppose the reception of Sir John James Sandilands, he was no longer the same man of 1541. It was not perhaps as yet possible to take energetic steps against him as he had not taken wife and was still bearing the titles of the position conferred on him by the Order. But when in Paris, where he had gone as envoy from the Scottish Parliament to treat with King Francis and Mary Stuart (2), he was rebuked by the Cardinal of Lorraine on the state of his religious tenets. On the 12th of August 1560, it was decided by the Council in Malta to substitute Sir James Sandilands in the proposed Commandery by Sir John James Sandilands, and the Knights Sir Richard Schelley, Sir George Dudley and Sir Harry Gerard were entrusted with the duty of putting the latter in possession (3). Queen Elisabeth on 24th January 1563, conferred on the family of Sir James Sandilands the Commandery of Torphichen and other lands of the Order in Listoun, Balintrode, Thankertown, Dennis Marycutter, Stanhouse, Gultna etc., in Scotland, with the title of Lord St. John

Sir George Dudley, called «Sotton», who was likewise received in Malta during these troubled times, (1545) allowed himself to be carried away by the prevailing current when he returned to England. He took wife and abandoned the militia of the Hospitallers. By a mere chance he subsequently found himself in Malta and had to be received as an inmate of the Sacred Infirmary. Here he asked and obtained permission to be reconciled and to be re-admitted into the Order. On the 11th May 1558 the Council allowed him to draw and appropriate to his own use the

(1) Vol. 416 L.B. 151 ff. 214 and 217 :, vol. 417 L. B. ff. 121 and 212t. vol. 86 Lib. Cons. an. 1535=43 ff. 103t. and 105.

(2) Dictionary of National Biography edited by S.Lee. vol 50 p. 278.

(3) Vol. 90 f. 109—P.R.M.

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pension and rents of the houses of the Tongue at Borgo, (now Vittoriosa) «donec eadem Veneranda Lingua congregata et hic in conventu fuerit» (1). On the 13th of July 1559 he obtained leave of absence from Malta,after having secured however, the reversion of the Turcopiliership then held by Sir Richard Schelley (2).

HENRY VIII AND THE TONGUE

The title of «Protector of the Order» had been conferred on Henry VIII of England ever since the 10th of May 1511, in the same manner as it had been on his predecessor, Henry VII ,on the 27th of May 1506. (3)

Cardinal Wolsey, as King's Chancellor and Papal Legate, held in his grasp the power of both Church and State. One mind had been directing the policy of secular and ecclesiastical administration in England since 1518 (4). In 1521 Pope Leo X conferred on Henry VIII the title of «Defensor fidei». Henry's prestige with both clergy and laity was thus considerably enhanced, and his privileged position with regard to the Knights rendered his behests less liable to opposition.

Henry caressed the idea of forming the Knights of the Tongue into a corps, independent from the Grand Master, for the defence of the district of Calais. He proposed to apply to this purpose all the revenues of the Tongue, possibly expecting that thereby greater profit would accrue to his State than any that could be derived from the English Knights fighting the Turks in the Mediterranean (5). In the instructions

(1) Vol 90 f. 8

(2) Ms. 955 f. 34.

(3) Vol. 397. L.B. 1505–6 f. 138t. P.R.M.

(4) Gasquet, Henry VIII and the English Monasteries, London 1906. ch. 2.

(5) V. 412 f. 254 The expenses to hold Calais for the British Crown were not at all indifferent. This is very likely the reason why no attempt to recover it was made when it was lost in the time of Philip and Mary A.D. 1554. *See* Pollard's History.

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given — 4th July 1527, — by the Grand Master, to his Ambassadors going to England, it is stated that His Majesty the King of England, owing to his having been misinformed, gave orders that no one should interfere with the property of the Order in that Kingdom, as he intended to station the Knights his subjects at Calais until such time as a permanent station had been provided for the exercise of Hospitality by the Order (1).

The circumstance that the Order then lacked a permanent place of residence, was evidently being utilised by Henry to give effect to his design: and the death, in 1527, of Sir Thomas Docray, Prior of England, came in very opportunely to his purpose. Sir William Weston, appointed to succeed Docray, was prevented by Henry from taking possession of the Priory. The Grand Master and Council then sent Envoys with the instructions above referred to, and with letters entreating Henry to desist from his opposition to Weston, assuring him at the same time that they had a permanent domicile: «concordibus omnium suffragiis elegimus insulam Melitam pro nostra mansione et exercitio hospitalitatis et bellorum contra infideles». (2) Sir Ambrose Layton, Commander of Yeverley and Barrow, had also had a hand in the initial negotiations. A bill preserved with Ms. 926 Bibl. shows that on the 28th January 1526 he left Madrid for England, where he arrived on the 15th of February, bearing letters from Charles V and from L'Isleadam to the King and to Cardinal Wolsey. Layton returned to Nice on the 10th September 1526. (3) His expenses amounted to 350 golden ducats.

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(1) Vol. 412 f. 254.

(2) Vol. 412 f. 253 Letter dated: Corneto 4th. July 1527

(3) «Copia d'uno conto del comre, fra ambrosio Latun.—a dì 28 de Jennaro 1526 yo fra Ambresio Latun sonno partito de madrid in posta per andare in inglitera et sonno arivato la a dì 15 de Febrao dove ho dato le lre de l'imperator et de Monsr. remo. et la suplicatione in mano del rey et rmo. Cardinal et p. haver la risposta de le dicte lre et suplicatione stava seguendo la corte fino. a lì 20 de Agusto,

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The Accounts of Receipts in England show that the servant-of-arms Carlo de Pypa made several trips with the same object (1). The knight Antonio Bosio likewise visited England for the same purpose, as related by his nephew Giacomo Bosio, the historian.

Better than any embassy, however, a «benevolence» of £4000 sterling, made by Sir William Weston, with the consent of several Bailiffs and Commanders, had the desired effect upon Henry. This gratuity was paid to Henry out of moneys of the Common Treasury of the Order deposited with Sir John Babington, the Receiver of the English province.

The subsequent voyage of L'Isleadam to London helped to smooth down other difficulties and to dissipate, for a time, the dense clouds that were gathering over the destinies of the Tongue, re-invigorating it with the admission of new members. As we have elsewhere stated, no less

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et havendo la risposta de le dicta suplicatione sonno tornato a nissa (Nice) li X de septembr de 1526 dove trivoy mons. rmo».--Layton was bearer of the following letter from Henry to Lisleadam:—«Henricus... Reddidit nobis vrae Rme. D. Iras venlis Ambrosius layton, noster subditus, ac istius religionis frater, ex eoque abunde intelleximus quae illius fidei dictam Religionem concernentia, nobis referenda, vra Rma D. commiserat, sed eis nos responsum dare distulimus et adhuc ob id differimus quia intelliximus generale totius vri ordinis capitulum, brevi habitum iri, ad quod conventuros non ambigimus ex prudentioribus, peritioribusque Religionis fratribus confidimus quod fore ut cómuni maturoque omnium vestrum voto et consilio hmoi, inclyto isto ordini locus eligatur, qui ad chr.iane reipcae tutelam et incrementum atque infidelium oppugnationem comodissimus sit futurus. Ubi itaque vra. Rma. D. certiores nos efficerint de loco in dicto capitulo electo, experietur nos ad ea omnia que dicte religioni comodo et stabilimento esse poterunt, non minus quam aliquis alius christianus princeps, promptos atque paratos. Et feliciter valeat eadem v.ra Rma. D.—Ex Regia nra apud Richemudia X o die M.D. XXVI Vester bonus amicus,—Henry. Rex»—Ms. 929 f. 5 M.P.L.

(1) The accounts for the financial year ending on St. John's day 1525 refer to other travelling expenses incurred by Layton and by James Melyn to the amount of £12.3 4. Further sums of £11.0.5 and £10.16.8 are shown as incurred in taking letters to the King from Marseilles and returning with the King's answer to Spain. In the following year the sum of £43.4.5 appears to have been cashed by Layton.

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than fifteen new knights are registered in the book of deliberations of the Tongue under date of the 23rd July 1528. (1) Bosio had been instructed to request the Turcopilier to repair to the Convent. L'Isleadam, further, took now steps to ensure the repayment to the Common Treasury of the £4000 presented to Henry. A deed was drawn up by the Vice-Chacellor, Tomaso Bosio, afterwards Bishop of Malta, in the great Hall of the Priory of Clerkenwell, on the 15th of May of that year. This deed; done in the presence of L'Isleadam, of Sir John Babington,—who had passed from the Turcopiliership to the Priory of Ireland,—of Sir Albion Pole, Bailiff of Eagle, of Sir Clement West, Commander of Slebeck, and of Sir Roger Boydel, Sir Edmond Hill, Sir John Rawson, Commander of Quenington, Sir Nicholas West, Sir Gyles Russell, Sir Thomas Pemberton, Sir George Aylmer and Sir John Sutton, bound the Prior, Sir William Weston, to refund, out of his own income the whole amount taken from the Common Treasury in order to obtain his investiture (2).

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(1) See page 32.

(2) Vol 413—The Book of the deeds and bulls of L'Isleadam out of Convent—fol. 2ot. «In nomine Dni. amen. Cum ser mus rex Angliae diu impedivisset et impedivit ne r.dus. d. fr. guillemus Weston consequeretur possessionem prioratus Angliae de quo per magistrum et conventum canonice et legitime provisus fuerat ut maius malum evitaret (sicut asserebat) de consilio nonnullorum baiulivorum et preceptorum dedit et exhibuit prefato Regi summam quatuor millium libellarum de esterling ex responsionibus et aliis pecuniis ad Comunem thesaurum spectantibus et pertinentibus quas rdus. d. fr. Johnes babington receptor in manibus suis habebat et mediante dicta summa cum provisione aliarum quedam pecuniarum quas super fructibus et redditibus dicti prioratus annuatim et solvere promisit, assecutus est et habuit possessionem pacificam et quietam eiusdem prioratus cum omnibus suis cameriis pertinentiis iuribus. At cum Rmus. Dñs magnus Magr. d. fr. Philipus de Villers Lisleadam qui ob ardua negocia religionis et presertim ratione dicti prioratus ad prefatum Sermum. regem profectus est, conquereretur quod pecunias religionis ita leviter promisisset et distraxisset et eas receptor ac sibi et religioni restitui postulavit. Post varia colloquia dictus prior fr. guillemus Weston quia pecuniam in promptu non habebat de consilio consensu pariter et

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All these points having been settled, Pope Clement, who had sanctioned the measures to be taken in the event of the demise of old L'Isleadam whilst on his travels, now invited the Grand Master. by brief of the 26th March, to hasten back with a view to determine, in a Chapter General of his Order, the pending question as to their future domicile in Malta, which had been mooted so far back as 1523 in a brief of Pope Adrian VI (1).

Henry's gift.

The English Sovereign was certainly pleased at the consideration shown him by the complimentary visit of the Chief of the Knights Hospitallers. He had thus been placed on a par with the Emperor and with the King of France on whom the Grand Master had previously called.

To show his gratitude, Henry promised contribution 20,000 *crowns* towards the projected recovery of Rhodes. The King's present consisted of nineteen bronze cannons with 1023 rounds of ammunition, worth 20,000 crowns. These were brought by Sir John Sutton, in January 1530, first to Syracuse and then to Malta. The Grand Master utilized this ordnance in the defence of the castle at

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assensu in publica Assemblea ad id convocata omnium baiulivorum priorum et preceptorum in Anglia existentium omni meliori via modo et forma quibus efficacius potuit et debuit in dicta assemblea coram pto. Rmo. d.no promisit solvere et realiter et cum effectu dare et restituere Religioni singulis annis in manibus receptoris in dicto prioratu pro co.i thesauro pro tempore ex.ntis summam ducentarum similium libellarum preter et ultra responsiones et jura dicti thesauri imposta et imponenda—et ad id de consilio et consensu premissor. se ac omnia bona mobilia et immobilia dicti prioratus p ntia et futura efficaciter obligavit et teneri voluit p ntibus consentientibus et existentibus in dicta Assemblea R dis d. fribus Joanne Rauson Turcopulerio, Joanne babington priore hiberniae, Albion pol bailivo del aquila, clemente Wuest prep.re de Selebech, rogerio boidel, Eduardo hill, Joanne rauson preceptor de Queneton, Nicolao Vste, egidio rossel, Thoma pemberton, gregorio aylmer et Joanne soton. ac me vicecan.rio subscripto.—Acta fuerunt haec in ædibus prefati prioratus extra et prope Londinum in penitiori aula die XIX mensis Maii. Anno dni mill.o quingen.mo vigesimo octavo.—Vol. 413 L.B. 1527-28. f. 20t.

(1) Two of the original briefs are preserved in Ms. 883 nos. 50 and 48. M P. L.

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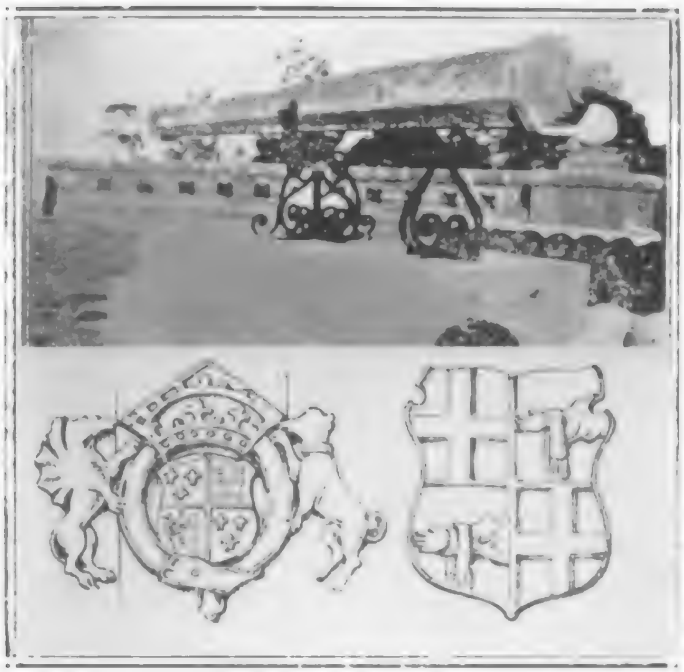
SIR JOHN KENDAL TURCOPILIER. MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE SIEGE OF RHODES (1480.)

(Cast in the Malta Museum)



GUN WITH COAT OF ARMS OF HENRY VIII AND L'ISLE ADAM

(Government House, Nicosia, Cyprus.)

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Tripoli (1) and there the guns remained until that fortress was taken by the Turks

One of these guns, numbered XIIII, was recently dug out of Famagusta Harbour (Cyprus), where it lay half buried in the sand and mud at the bottom of the sea, who knows since what time. Its decorations included the familiar badge of the Tudors as well as the coat-of-arms of l'Isleadam.

This discovery was pointed out to me by Sir John Clauson, High Commissioner of Cyprus, who caused the gun to be put on a belvedere of Government House, Nicosia. The Curator of Ancient Monuments, Cyprus, describes it in the Journal of the Institute of British Architects (2), and, with his kind permission I, reproduce the illustration accompanying his paper.

Mr. Guy F. Laking in his «Armoury of the Knights» expresses the opinion that besides the larger pieces of ordnance, small arms were included in King Henry' s present, as a shield in the armoury of Valletta with a «gonne» in the centre (No. 435) is identical with others forming part of the collection in the Tower of London (3).

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(1) « Apres cela on renvoya le Drappier avec les galeres à Messine pour amener un vaisseau, où il y avoit seze beaux canons de bronze, et mille balles que le Roy d'Angleterre envoyoit à la Religion: dequoy la Religion remercia grandement le Roy par le Commandeur de Tinteville, qui eust charge de luy dire, puis que l'entreprise de Rhodes extoit faillie, s'il le trouvoit bon qu'on mettroit ses canons dans Tripoli, parce qu'on avoit advis au Couvent que Malte et Gozo et Tripoli estoyent accordez à la Religion » P Boyssat, l c. vol I. p 5 2, who copying the above from Bosio's history, Rome 1602, part 3rd. p. 79. puts erroneously 16 cannons instead of 19, and 1000 instead of 1023 rounds of ammunition. Bosio at page 63 reproduces Henry's letter dated Greenwich 25. Feb. 1548 promising the 20,000 gold crowns.

(2) 3rd series vol. XV. No. 20 London 1908.

(3) London pag. 9 and 42.—At the Hotel des Invalides in Paris one may see 13 other cannons, once belonging to the Knights ceded by the Sultan Abd-ul-Azis to Napoleon III in 1862, and in the Museum at Versailles there is a bronze mortar given to Louis Phillipe by Sultan Mahmoud in 1836. Were these part of Henry's gifts? — A bronze cannon weighing 20812 Italian lbs. during the time of the Knights was mounted

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Henry also presented L'Isleadam with a beautiful golden bowl. On the 15th September 1584, this cup was given by Grand Master Cardinal Verdala to Don Giovanni Andrea Doria, Prince of Malfi and Commanding the Fleet of the King of Spain, then anchored in the Port of Malta, as a «token of esteem and gratitude of the Grand Master and Order». (1).

One is tempted here to advert to the unexpected revenges which time brings in its trail. Without at all consulting the Maltese, Charles V gives their Island to the Order. The English Sovereign makes a valuable gift to the Order, and that gift is made use of by the Order to gratify the King of Spain in the person of the representative of his naval power, the Italian Doria. Malta given by the Spanish Sovereign to the Order, goes afterwards, without the Knights' consent, to gratify Great Britain, who, with her naval force, came to the help of the Maltese in the critical circumstances of 1799!

Henry VIII had since January 1523 written to Charles V, and ordered his Ambassadors at the Spanish Court to help in furthering the Order's endeavours to obtain Malta (2).

Henry expressed his satisfaction at the gift of Malta by Charles V, and at the convention entered into with the Order, in a letter, of November 1530 from Hampton Court.

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at the Upper Barracca, Vide Abela-Ciantar's Malta Illustrata V. I. p. 71, Malta 1772. This gun was taken by the French and placed on board the frigate «La Sensibile» which on her way to France in 1798 was captured by Captain Foote of the 'Sea Horse' and the gun taken to the Tower of London. The Annual Register p. 102 says that after the fire of 1841 it was removed to the Kensington Museum in Hyde Park; but in all probability the one at Kensington is another of the many guns of the Knights carried away to London.

(1) Vol. 96 L.C. an. 1581-85 f. 199 P.R.M.

(2) «Henricus... Reddiderunt nuper nobis Vre. R. D lras venerandi ac religiosi viri Dns. Thomas docreus sti. Joañis in hoc nro Regno prior, ac Dns Willelmus Weston vester conventus turcuplerius.. ad Cesaream M.tem pro insula Malta obtinenda copiosissime scripsimus, nostrisque illic oratoribus hoc negocium pro viribus iuvarent, mandavimus,... vester bonus amicus — Henry » Original in Ms. 929 f. 3.

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In this letter the strategic value of the island, even then recognized, is pointed out by the words «natura munitissima et ad infidelium propulsandos insultus aptissima esse» (1).

The Tongues Status in the British Isles.

Things were however changing in the Kingdom of England. About a hundred years before this time a Sovereign of England had addressed to the Grand Master and Hospitallers, fighting for the Catholic faith, the words «agite ut coepistis *fortissimi milites*, quoniam fortes fortuna juvat» (2) In that same year, at their request, the King in Council

(1) The original of this letter with Henry's signature is preserved in ms. 929. f. 9. M. P. L. and runs as follows:—«Henricus Dei gra Angliae et franciae rex, fidei defensor, ac Dns Hiberniae Rmo. in chro. pri. Dno Filippo villers lile adam Magno hierosolymitani ordinis magistro... Amico nostro car.mo salutem. Et si multis indiciis sepe antea cognovissemus vram rmam. dominationem venlesque suos fres, post amissam Rhodum, nihil studio maiori curasse unquam q. ut suis facinoribus possent de christiana rep.ca q. optime mereri idque ut rebus ipsis quandoque prestarent, locum aliquem in quo tandem consisterent cum modum sedulo perquisivisse, gratissima tamen nobis fuerunt, quae ex eiusdem vre Rme. D. Iris, et venlis fris, dni Deutiville sermone, prudentique relatu, nuper cognovimus, licetque de recuperanda Rhodo successus optimis consiliis non responderint, existimamus, tamen vestrum istum hierosolymitanum ordinem, ea semper velle coronari. quae e catholicae fidei propagatione christianeque reipublicae tranquillitate quoquo modo esse posse cognoverit. Quod vero Cesarea Majestas Melitam Insulam, Gazum et Tripolim vestro ordini concesserit, non possumus non vehementer gaudere, ea loca quae natura munitissima et ad infidelium propulsandos insultus aptissima esse audivimus, nunc vobis obtigisse, in quibus ordo vester tuto convenire, vires reficere, *statumque suum stabilire* et confirmare possit Quae vestrae Rmae. D ven. biliumque fratrum suorum consilia, quum nobis ut optima ac salutaria probentur persuasum ipsi esse volumus ad amorem quo hierosolmitanum istum ordinem semper complexi sumus in dies semper aliquid addi quatenus perspicimus nonnisi ad bonum rectumque finem actiones vestras esse directas, quumque preterea confidamus operam tutelamque vestram, nationi n.re, si quando erit opus, semper presto fore, nulli nos vicissim amico officio unquam deerimus, quod in vro. conservando prout tegendoque ordine prestare queamus, ut latius nostrum in se bene affectum animum ex Dno Deutiville presentium latore, vestra Rma. D intelliget, que feliciter valeat. Ex Regia n.ra apud hampton Corte. Die XXII novembris MDXXX—Vester bonus consanguineus—Henry. R.—T. Petrus vannes.»

(2) Rymer Acta Publica T.XI .f. 356.

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had been pleased to grant his gracious letters of Privy Seal to the Pope and Cardinals with a view to grant for the forthcoming Lent a Jubilee in England and Ireland to collect money for the benefit of the Sacred Gerosolimitan Religion. Other letters were also written by that English King to the Doge of Venice, Francesco Foscari, and to the Emperor Frederick, urging them to befriend and help t e Knights in their struggle against the Turks. (1).

But at that time and even earlier there was a feeling in England that the collection and transmission of the responsions to the Common Treasury of the Order was a kind of undue burthen. Indeed, Edward I had forbidden collected responsions, to the amount of 5,000 silver marks, from being remitted to the Order, and Pope Boniface VIII had to intervene, sending him a rather strongly worded letter (2). Henry VI addressing the Grand Prior, Robert Botyll, and the Grand Master, John Lastic, through Sir John Langstrother, said «Res haec directe est contra leges et jura nostra» but granted the request «hac vice tantum» (3). In 1453 Langstrother, Castellan of Rhodes and, afterwards, Bailiff of Eagle, had been sent to England to receive outstanding responsions and to convey them to Rhodes. It was on this account that the Chapter, at the request of the Tongue of England, on the 26th. February 1475, again asked the English Sovereign to permit the remittance of the responsions to the Common Treasury, pointing out that «the Knights at Rhodes were doing service for the whole of Christendom». (4).

Another fact deserving notice is the pronounced subjection of the English Knights to their Sovereign. This dependence had almost always been remarkable. Thus, Edward I, on the 27th. June 1275, ordered William Fitz-Rogeres, Prior of Ireland, to return to his Priory notwithstanding his call to

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(1) Rymer l. c. p 351. and following pages

(2) S. Pauli, Codice Dipl. II. 4.

(3) Rymer l. c. f. 340 Henry refers to Boutil or Botyl as his «familiarissimus et fidelissimus subditus ac consiliarius»

(4) Ms. 331 f. 380 M.P.L.

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the Convent by the Grand Master, (1). The Turcopilier Thomas Skipwith, was obliged, about 1417, to seek and obtain his Sovereign's *placet* to reply to the Grand Master (2) On the 31st. January 1465 the Council of the Order sent the Lieutenant Turcopilier to exculpate himself of a charge of disloyalty to the British Sovereign «in order to keep high the name and honour of the Corporation» (3). In 1469 the Government of Henry VI exacted the oath of fealty to recognize as Grand Prior the above named John Langstrother,—an oath which had never been exacted before from natives of the Kingdom, and of which only one precedent existed in the time of Edward III, in the case of the Grand Prior Leonard de Tybertis of Monte Leone, because of his being a foreigner (4).

The necessity for non-native knights obtaining a license or exequatur to carry on their duties in England is apparent from the wording of the permit given to the Prior of Rome, Cancio Ursini, afterwards Grand Master, when, together with the John Langstrother above mentioned, (5) he was entrusted by Grand Master Jacque de Mylly with the duty of inspecting the dependencies of the Order in England (6).

Langstrother; when Grand Prior, was, on 20th. October 1470, appointed Treasurer of the Chancery of the Kingdom, and on 24th. February 1471, Custodian of the Exchange of the Moneys in the Tower of London, that is to say, Keeper of the gold and silver coin of the Kingdom, and of the land of Calais (7). Langstrother took sides with the House of Lancaster in the Wars of the Roses. He was made prisoner

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(1) Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire N. 3578

(2) H. Nicolas—Proceedings Privy Council V. 2 f 358. A. proof of this dependence is evinced also by a chancelled bull dated 4th.February 1428 referring to a loan of £1000 in favour of King Henry from the Receiver of the Order in England. Vol. 347, f. 113 t.P. R. M.

(3) Ms. Lib. Conc. an 1459—69. 899 f. 144 M.P.L.

(4) Rymer Tom. XI f. 650; 664 and 670.

(5) See page 160.

(6) Rymer XI f. 477

(7) Ivi f. 678.

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at the battle of Tewkesbury, in 1471, and put to death in cold blood by order of Edward IV.

The Order and the Grand Prior and Dignitaries of the Tongue were evidently held in great respect by the English Sovereigns. Henry II in 1185 went as far as Reading to meet the Grand Master Roger des Moulins and the patriarch Heraclius who had come to England to promote a new crusade. He conducted them to the Priory at Clerkenwell, where he summoned the Barons of the Realm to a Council. The Grand Prior William of Tottenham, who died on 12th October 1318, was summoned to Parliament by Edward I and by Edward II in his quality of Baron of the Kingdom.

King John stayed at the Priory during the whole month of March 1212. There on Sunday in mid-Lent, 4th of March, Alexander, son of the King of Scotland, was knighted (1). In 1399 Henry, Duke of Lancaster, on the eve of his accession to the throne as Henry IV, was entertained at the Priory for a fortnight.

Under Richard II (13th September and 10th December 1389) and under Henry VI (9, 12 and 14 November 1437) the Privy Council met several times at St. John's Clerkenwell, the seat of the Grand Prior (2). On the 16th of June 1459 Henry VI wrote to the Grand Master to say that he could not grant the Grand Prior permission to go to Rhodes as, being «a Peer of the English Parliament», his presence was required in England more than at Rhodes. (3).

James IV of Scotland gave the holders pro tempore of the Commandery of Torphichen in Scotland, «virtute officii», a seat in the House of Lords with the title of «Lord St. John». First to enjoy this privilege was Sir William Knolls, who was at the same time Lord Treasurer of James.

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(1) «The expenses of Alexander, son of the King of Scotland, incurred at Clerkenwell when he was knighted, on Sunday in Mid-Lent, 4th March, 1212, amounted to £ 14. 4. 8.» according to the record in the roll of the forest, tenth year of King John

(2) H. Nicholas Proceedings ecc. London 1837. Vol. 5 f. 70.

(3) ibi vol. VI. ff. 84, 299 and 301.

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Knolls lost his life on the 11th September 1513 at the battle of Flodden Field.

We find from an Act of Parliament, granting certain sumptuary privileges in 1533, that the Grand Prior, at least in this late epoch, had precedence over barons but not over viscounts (1).

The Chapter General of 1304, limiting the retinue of the high dignitaries of the Order, allowed the Grand Prior of England thirteen horses: all other Priors were allowed less, except the Prior of France, who was on a par with the English Prior, and that of Castile who was allowed sixteen horses. — The Prior of Ireland could keep only twelve horses (2).

The Prior of Ireland, in the Kingdom of Ireland, held a position not inferior to that of his colleagues in other parts of the British State. He had a seat in the Parliament of that Kingdom (3). We find the Prior of Kilmainham, Sir William Boss, so far back as 1299, occupying the post of Deputy to the Chief of the Irish Government.

In 1328, Prior Sir Roger Outlaw, ex-Chancellor of Ireland, is Lord Justice : and Prior Sir Thomas Butler, «a martial man», similarly held the office of Lord Justice in 1417. At the call of his Sovereign, Butler led a troop of brave warriors to Normandy. to fight against the French.

In 1446, Prior Thomas Fitz-Thomas, to curry the royal favour, entered the lists with the all powerful Earl of Ormond in a public tournament at Smithfield.

There is ample evidence in fact to the Prior's long-standing power and influence in the affairs of Ireland (4).

Sir James Keating, Prior of Kilmainham and Commander of Clontarff was at the same time Constable of Dublin

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(1) «Viscounts. the Pryour of Seint Iohn of Jerusalem and Barons to wear in their dublettes or sleveless coates clothe of gold sylver or tynsel».

(2) Ms. Code 501 f. 78 M.P.L.

(3) Th More. History of Ireland, vol. 3. f. 116.

(4) Th. More, Hist. of Ireland, Vol. 3 pp 42, 78, 82, 145, 156, 177 and 210.

Castle. Keating was deprived of his Priory by Act of Parliament owing to disloyality to the Sovereign. The Grand Master and Council, by a bull of the 14 October 1494, deprived him of the benefices he had seized at Marmaduke Lomeley's death (1).

Sir John Rawson, Prior of Ireland at the time of the dissolution of the Tongue by Henry VIII, had been of such service to the King's Government that he was given a life peerage with the title of Viscount Clontarf (2).

The Knights' staunchness in upholding their faith.

The trend of the new policy in religious matters had become evident in 1533. Henry VIII since 1529 and even before had been intent on unloosening the bonds which connected his Kingdom with the Pontifical Authority upon which he looked as an *imperium in imperio*.

The aim of Henry's Government since 1529 had been to make the Church a national institution subject to the Crown. The financial aspect of this policy was the confiscation or control of all religious endowments (3).

In May 1532 what was called the « Submission of the Clergy » became an accomplished fact. The ecclesiastical authorities were deprived of the power to make laws and regulations without the previous authority and sanction of the King and of a Committee of Parliament. The payment of certain fees due to the Holy See was forbidden and after the excommunication of Henry VIII by Clement VII (11th. July 1528) even more drastic measures against the Church were taken.

Peter's Pence and all other pecuniary subsidies to Rome were abolished. On 10th. November 1534, by the new form of oath established, the Sovereign was declared Supreme

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(1) Vol. 392. L. B. an 1494-6 f. CCXXXVII and f. 100. On the 24th. October 1494 Sir Thomas Docray was appointed to Keating's place; and two days later, in another bull, the Grand Master refers to the abuse of some Irish who wore without authority the cross and habit of the Order. ibi. f. 103.

(2) Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XLVII p. 336.

(3) A F. Pollard, History of England, London, 1910 p. 17. edited by W. Hunt

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Head of the Church in England, without any restriction whatever, leaving out, in consequence, the latter part of the former declaration of « Protector and Supreme Head of the Church of England, as far as the law of the Church allows ».

In 1535 took place the Royal Visit of the Religious Houses and Commanderies. The dependencies of the Order of the Hospitallers were visited, valued and taxed, as shown in the « Valor Ecclesiasticus» published by order of Parliament in 1830. The accounts of the Receiver in England reveal that with a view to restrict the damage caused by this visit one hundred pounds sterling were paid, *brevi manu*, and charged, one third each, to the Grand Prior, the Common Treasury and the Knights Commanders.

By this time several members of the Tongue had already tasted imprisonment, Sir Adrian Fortescue among them; but with the general amnesty, proclaimed in November 1534, they regained their freedom. Up to this point, however, the Hospitallers in general seem to have managed to keep afloat. This may be gathered from the exchange, in 1536, of the Manor or Lordship of Wyles, in the County of Surrey, and of those of Southwark, Newyngton and Lambeth, belonging to the Knights, with property which the King offered to the Prior and Knights of Clerkenwell, that is, the Monastery or Priory of Kilburn in Middlesex with the lands thereto pertaining in Hampstead, Paddington and Westborn, in frank-almoigne (1).

In 1531, December 19th. another exchange, had taken place mentioned elsewhere (2), of the Manor of Hampton Court and other lands with the Monasteries and Priory of S.t Mary Magdalen of Stanesgate belonging to the King (3).

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(1) 28, Henry VIII c. 21. and c. 38—Statutes of the Realm printed by command of George III. Vol. 3. pp. 676 and 695 London 1817.

(2) See pp 44 and 162 of this book.

(3) Statute 23. Henry VIII c. 26. in the above edition vol. 3. f. 403. The indenture of a long lease of Hampton Court at ~59 a year entered between the Prior Sir Thomas Docwra and Card: Wolsey

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The death-blow came with the six articles regarding confession, celibacy, communion and the sacraments, brought out in 1536, and their observation enforced under sundry pains and punishments. Other restrictions, and the abolition of Religious Orders soon followed.

By a Royal Charter, preserved in its original parchment in the Public Library, dated 7th July 1539, Henry VIII reminds the Knights his subjects that the *Conventus et Religio* of St. John of Jerusalem had elected him and made him their Protector: «nos generalem constituerunt eiusdem Ordinis protectorem» and requires that in the admission of Knights of the Priory and in the granting of the dignities and commanderies of the Tongue, the Pope's authority should be ignored (1).

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who had obtained or purchased its cession at the death of the person, to whom Prior Kendal had previously given it, is alluded to in a charter of the Grand master, dated 14 August 1517 (Vol. 406 L. C 1517 f. 163 P. R. M.) which may be seen in Porter's History of the Knights ed. London 1883 p. 571. A schedule attached to Wolsey's lease, dated 12th. January 1514, is interesting in that it shows the furniture of this manor of the Hospitallers. It is reproduce in app. II.

(1) Parchment marked 908 M. P. L.—which is thus surmarized by General Porter in his History of Malta «The document bears date 7th July, 1538, and commences by entitling Henry VIII the supreme head of the Anglican Church, and as such the Protector of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England. It then goes on to declare, first, that for himself and his successors he gives licence to Brother William West (Weston), Grand Prior of England, to confer the habit and receive the profession requisite to admit such English subjects as may desire to enter the Order, under the usual conditions, provided that such postulant shall have previously taken an oath of allegiance to the said monarch: secondly, that any person nominated by the Grand Master in Council to a Commandery in England shall obtain confirmation of his appointment from the King; he will be required to pay the first year's revenue of his commandery into the King's treasury: thirdly, it shall not be lawful for the Order of St. John to make eleemosynary collections within the realm of England unless in virtue of a Royal warrant, which warrant shall contain the express clause that such collection was not made in virtue of any bull from the Pontiff, but under letters patent emanating from the King of England (these collections had hitherto been frequently made under the sanction of Papal authority and formed a considerable source of revenue under the title of Confraria): fourthly, those brethren

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The Chapter General, on the 9th September 1540, through the Commanders Enrico Pereyra and L. de Vallee did not fail to raise its voice in protesting against this subversive constitution and in declaring the impossibility of its acceptance (1). A copy of the letter which Grand Master Omedes sent to Henry in reply, dated 15th September 1540,—is preserved in our archives (2). In the instructions given by the Council to the two Commanders we meet with the first and perhaps only reference remaining in our archives, to the spoliation of Sir Thomas Dingley of his commanderies, and to the granting of the same to courtiers of Henry not belonging to the Order. Time and distance had not allowed of the due appraisement of facts in Malta, and therefore we read that «a few days ago we learnt that for crimes committed by fr. Thomas Dingley the King's Majesty made provision of the Commanderies of Schingay, Badislay and Mayn which he held and conferred them on two secular Knights of his Court (3). Sir T. Dingley.

Sir Thomas Dingley, Knight, Commander of Baddislay and Maine, was the first member of the Venerable Tongue of England to suffer the death penalty in affirmation

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holding or hereafter promoted to commanderies within the realm of England, shall not recognize, support or promote the juris diction, authority, rank, or title of the Bishop Rome . fifthly: those brethren holding or hearafter promoted to Commanderies within the realm of England, shall after the payment of the first year's revenues into the King's treasury, transfer those of the second year to the treasury of the Order for the general maintenance and support of the Convent with the reservation of such annual tithes as the King retains to himself from all the commanderiee within the kingdom: sixthly and lastly, that every year a chapter of the Priory shall be held, in which all crimes committed by the fraternity within the realm of England shall be examined into and duly punished; and if any of the offending brethren shall consider himself aggrived by the sentence of the Chapter, he shall appeal either to the vicar of the King, or to the conservator of the privileges of the Order of St. John duly appointed by the King.»

(1) Vol. 85 f. 101.

(2) Vol. 6425 «Miscellanea» f. 278 P.R.M.

(3) Vol. 286 f. 131; vol. 297 f. 110 and vol. 417 f. 281t.

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and testimony of the Catholic Faith. He was beheaded on Tower Hill in London in July 1539. As we have already seen, Dingley, was a nephew of the Prior Sir William Weston. He had been received into the Order on the 2nd. May 1526, and his proofs of nobility were approved on 24th. September 1528 (1). He had come to Malta with the Order, on the galleys in which he was inscribed as a caravanist,—as appears from the list furnished by the Tongue on 30th March 1530. He was the first procurator of his Alberge in Malta. On the 9th. January 1531 he obtained for his cabishment the Commandery of Baddisley and Maine (2) On the 20th. February of the same year he was allowed to proceed to England to reside on his Commandery (3). On the 16th. April 1534 he was again in the Alberge in Malta (4), seeking confirmation in the benefice of Stanesgate, conferred on him by the Provincial Chapter of the Tongue (5), and he left again for England in December 1535 (6). Arrived in London he obtained the Commandery of the Hospital of Shingay, to which Sir Ambrose Cave laid claim in Malta on 20th. February 1537 (7).

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(1) Vol. 415 f. 158 P.R.M; Ms. 955 f. 41. «Ao. 1526. Be itt knowen to all men that at a tongue holden the iide. daye of maye anno. 1526. by licence of my lord lyvetenant master fa barnardyne de rasske, in the presence of ser. william weston turcoplier and alle the hole tonge of the englishe nascion beyng pr.sent was reseyved fr. thomas Dyngley, with this condission brynging his p ves' as is the ancient custom of ower religion—wt.in the space of ii yers next immediatly folowing ye. date hereof—f. thomas dingley.

Md. the 14 daye of ffebruario ao. 1528 by licence of my lord levetenant m. fr. barnardyn de raska prior.of. of lombardi the honorable tong held in presence of m. levetenant torcoplier f Edward Roche comder. of templebruer alle the hole tong to see the p ves of or. brother f thomas dyngley wc. hathe been accepted for good and accordying to the usanse of or. religion.»

(2) Ms. 955 f. 12. M.P.L

(3) Vol. 85 f 61.

(4) Vol. 415 f. 163t.

(5) Vol. 412 f. 163t

(6) Ms. 955 f. 17t.

(7) Vol. 415 f. 156t. V. 416 f. 159.

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Act of Dissolution of the Tongue

Even before the remonstrances of the Grand Master and Council had reached England, by Statute 32. Henry VIII. ch. 24 (April 1540), the Venerable Tongue of England had been dissolved, and its property incorporated with that of the Crown (1). The habit of the Order and any of its distinctive badges were forbidden to be worn within the Realm. A pension was granted to such of the knights as had not yet fallen altogether under the Sovereign's disgrace, on condition, however, that they should reside within the King's dominions (2).

Grand Prior Weston was granted an annual pension of £1000 sterling, John Rawsn, Prior of Ireland, and Clement West, late Turcopilier, received £500 each, Thomas Pemberton £80; Gyles Russell and Edward Bellingham £100 each, Edward Brown £50, John Sutton £200; Edmund Hussey, Ambrose Cave and Richard Bruke, 100 marks each; Thomas Copledike £50, Cuthbert Leighton £60, Henry Pole and John Rawson 200 marks each, and William Tyrrell £30, — all of them commanders, knights, or servants-of-arms. An allowance of £10 a head was made to the following nine knights: Oswald Massingberd, James Hussey, Thomas Thornehill, Nicolas Upton, Philip Babington, Henry Gerard, Donston Newdegate, Nicolas Lambert and David Gonson. The Sub-Prior of the Church of Clerkenwell, John Mablestone, the Chancellor, William

(1) «The kinges majestie his heirs and successors shall have and enjoye all that Hospitall, mansion-house, churches and all other houses edificions buyldinges and gardienes of the same belonging being near unto the citie of London in the Countie of midd called the house of St. John of Jerusalem in England».

(2) Wolsey's action, in 1524,—authorised by Clement VII,—in suppressing monasteries not in receipt of a yearly rent of 3000 ducats, for the purpose of adding to the funds of the College he founded at Oxford, had set a bad example before the eyes of his Master in matters of suppression.

Wolsey had employed in his work Thomas Cromwell, who later was the first to conceive the idea of attacking papal power in its stronghold and procuring thereby the wealth which went to gratify the covetousness of the King.—Gasquet l. c. ch. 8.

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Ermastede, the Brother-Chaplains Walter Lindsay and John Winter, were allowed their fees of office.

It would appear that the pensions granted were proportionate to the declared net yield of the commanderies held by each recipient. These amounts, however, seem to have been subject to modification for such as reclaimed, because we find in the «Dictionary of National Biography» that Cave had a pension of £66 as holder of the Commandery of Shingay. The knights were allowed the use of a house in London for their habitation (1).

Prior Sir William Weston died on Ascension day, whilst the Act of Dissolution was being published. Grief hastened his end. A monument in St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, in the shape of an altar tomb, records his great hospitality:— « Hospitalitate inclytus genere praeclarus (2)». Sir Clement West and Sir Nicholas Lambert could not move from Malta. Sir Edward Brown, Sir Thomas Thornehill, Sir James Hussey, Sir Henry Gerard and Sir Donston Newdegate were performing their caravans in 1540 (3). Sir Gyles Russell, Sir Nicholas Upton and Sir Oswald Massingberd turned up in the Convent shortly after. On 12th. September 1541 fraternal charity, besides board and «soldea»,—that is food, raiment, and lodging—assigned to them, out of the Common Treasury, handsome emoluments: — 500 florins of Rhodes to Russell, and 200 florins each to the others,—not indifferent sums as compared with the pensions promised by the Royal Act (4).

Sir Cuthbert Leighton or Layton (5), Sir George Aylmer

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(1) Stow. Chronicles pp. 570, 580.

(2) Holbeche and Bedford. The Order of St. John, London, 1902, p. 48. reproduce an illustration of the monument.

(3) Ms. 955 ff. 31 and 32. M. P. L.

(4) Vol. 86 L. C. an. 1535-43 f. 110t. P. R. M.

(5) Knights observed no fixed spelling of their own names, not even in their signatures. Docwra or Docray—Schelley, oftener Chelley, figures on the Chancery registers as Chiley, Xellei (vol 301 f. 120), and Chelly (ibi f. 26t), or Celej, when, on the 14 Dec. 1581, he applied to be appointed Lieutenant Turcopilier. (V. 96 f. 7).

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and several others, must have sought refuge with their fellow knights in commanderies on the Continent, within easy reach of their own country.

Layton and Aylmer, together with Browne, Thornehill, Gerard, and five others, were re-inducted in the ten commanderies restored by Cardinal Pole under Mary Tudor.

In the absence of precise information as to the fate of the other English knights, after they had left these islands at the time of the religious crisis, it deserves to be noticed that in the Minutes of the proceedings of 1st. April 1539, the list of knights present, probably inserted years after, qualifies as «*The good Knight*» both Sir David Gonson and Sir William Salisbury (1).

We know from the «Calendar of the Martyrs,» and from the histories of that religious cataclysm, that Sir David Gonson, attainted of high treason for denying the King's supremacy in matters of Faith, was drawn on a sledge through Southwark, and that he met his death on the scaffold, in St. Thomas Waterings, confessing the Catholic Faith, on 1st. July 1541. It might therefore be inferred that Salisbury, being likewise styled in the Minutes «*The good Knight*», also gave his life on the scaffold, or was possibly thrown into a dungeon there to end his life for the same cause.

Sir William Salisbury

Another circumstance symptomatic of Salisbury's end is that his name, unlike Sir David Gonson's, does not appear among the knights still alive, and not yet fallen under the royal ban, to whom a pension was assigned at the dissolution of the Tongue, ordered by Henry VIII, in April 1540. Sir John Forset's name is also absent from the list of pensioned knights. Forset had been received with Salisbury (2) on the 8th March 1537, and they had made their caravans together. A similar name is included by Porter and De la Graviere among the knights who fell in upholding the old faith at the change of religion in England.

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(1) Ms. 955 f. 31.
(2) Ms. 955 f. 20

Sir William Salisbury served his caravans between 1537 and 1539. He was then given permission to take his departure from Malta, 13th, June 1539 (1), and Sir David Gonson, together with Sir William Tyrrel received the same permission on the 22nd. March 1540.

The decision of the Council, of 12th. January 1541, to refuse permission to leave the island to the English knights then in the Convent, seems to have been taken in consequence of the fate their fellow knights had met.

Sir David Gonson.

Sir David Gonson, between the 20th. October 1533, the date on which his reception into the Order is registered, and the 22nd of April 1540 (2), resided in Malta,—except for two short periods of leave of absence, granted on 2nd September 1534 (3) and on 13th July 1536 (4). In 1536 he was still on caravan duty on the galleys (5). On the 7th October 1535 he was even punished with deprivation of the habit and nine months rigorous imprisonment in Gozo, as already mentioned, for fighting with the knights Christopher Myres and Philip Babington with consequent bloodshed; but on the 13th of July 1536 he was re-instated and given back his seniority (6).

The Royal Proclamation dissolving the «Venerable Tongue of England» redounds to the highest honour and glory of the Tongue itself and of the Sovereign Military Order of the Knights of Malta, in that it shows the attachment, fealty and devotion of the English knights to the Apostolic See.

In the explanatory paragraphs of the Royal Proclamation the motive of the dissolution and of the incorporation of the Tongue's property is clearly stated to be no other than that the Knights had remained faithful to the Catholic

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(1) Vol. 417 L B. 1537-42 f. 190t.
(2) V. 416 f. 191 P. R. M.
(3) V. 415 f. 167
(4) V. 416 f. 158
(5) Ms. 955 f. 31 M. P. L.
(6) Ms. 955 f. 19 and V. 85 f. 116 and 111

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SIR ADRIAN FORTESCUE

From a painting by Mattias Preti in the Oratory of St. John's Church — Valletta.

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Church and to their obedience to the Roman Pontiff, and had thereby rejected the religious supremacy of the Royal Authority over their creed (1).

Great were the sacrifices in life and property of this branch of the Order of Malta, and great were the sufferings endured by its members. Most of them, though not actually succumbing to martyrdom, had to seek refuge among their brethren abroad, indignantly refusing the pension proffered to them. Still greater were the lustre and renown they won in the annals of that Faith for the protection and defence of which their Order had been created centuries before.

Under the reign of Elizabeth several others bore like witness, with their lives and sufferings, to their firmness in the profession of the Faith of their fathers. Sir Marmaduke Bowes was hanged at York on the 17th November 1585, for having given shelter to Catholic priests (2), and Sir Thomas Mytton, Sir Edward Waldegrave and others, as reported by Porter and by other more recent historians, likewise suffered for the Faith.

Sir Adrian Fortescue.

In the Church of St. John, among the heroes of the Order we only find portrayed the Venerable Sir Adrian Fortescue. This is because Mattias Preti had only Fortescue's authentic portrait to work upon and no other. The portrait was found in a house in Madrid and brought over to Malta by the Order in 1621, as attested

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(1) «Unnaturally and contrarie to the duety of their allegaunces sustayned and maynteynid the usurped powere and auctoritie of the Bishop of Rome and have not only adhered themselfes to the said Bishop being comon enemy to the King our souvraine Lord and to his realm, untruely upholding, knowledging and affirming maliciously and traiterously the same Bishop to be supreme head of Christes churche by Godds holy wourds, intending thereby to subvert and overthrow the good and godly lawes and statutes of this realme their naturall contry made and grounded by the auctorities of the Holy Churche by the most excellent wisedome and polyce aud goodnass of the Kinges majesty».

(2) T. Graves Law, Calendar of the English Martyres. London 1876

(3) Sir Adrian was the second son of Sir John Fortescue, was aunt to Queen Anne Boleyn.

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by the bulls of Chancery (1). Sir Adrian Fortescue had been created a Knight of the Bath by Henry VIII, for his services in the French wars. Having been twice married, he could only belong to the Order of St. John in the capacity of Knight of Honour and Devotion, or as Donat, or Confrater. He had been committed «to the Knight Marshall's ward at Woodstook» for denying the King's supremacy, and then released under the already mentioned general amnesty. He was again attainted in the spring of 1539, and beheaded on the 10th day of July of that year.

RESTORATION OF THE TONGUE BY PHILIP AND MARY

At the death of Henry VIII (1547) the English knights counted on regaining what they had lost. They sent an agent to England to report on the probability of recovering the property of the Tongue. They were in such streights, that, to defray the necessary expense, they had to pawn with their Standard Bearer or Banneret, Stemmate Galante, a silver cup derived from the «spoils» of the Turcopilier Sir John Boswell (2).

In this connection the «magnifico» Francesco Gagliardetti is paid 250 scudi for services rendered by him in England (8 September 1547) (3). And the Prior of St. Giles, Robert Aube Soquemartine, being on a mission to the French Sovereign, is instructed (11th. July 1548) to beg him to use his influence in the English Royal Court to assist the Order in their endevours to have back their property in England (4).

But the political atmosphere under the regency set up during young King Edward's reign, showed no change for the better as regarded the Catholics.

(1) Vol 460 and 1620-22 f. 345 t. and referred to by Lord Claremont in his History of the Family of Fortescue p 74

(2) Recovered on the 11th July 1548. (Ms. 955 f. 105 M P.L.)

(3) Gagliardetti must have been rather well-off, as we find that on a preceding occasion he had lent the Tongue 3000 golden ducats:—a not indifferent sum at that time for Malta. Vol. 87. L C. 1543-48 f. 98t. V. 416 L. B. 1534-37 f. P. R. M.

(4) Ms. Istrutioni an. 1522-1659. Malta Cathed. Archives f. 74.

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When Edward VI left the scene, the Order made sure of the protection of Philip II, Mary Tudor's bridegroom, on her accession to the Throne. The Bailiff Pedro de Monserrat, Grand Conservator, was deputed by the Order for the purpose. (1). He was sent on a mission to Rome, to the Spanish Court, and to England. As regards England his instructions, dated 23rd. July 1555, directed him to obtain information as to the property of the Tongue of England from the Priest Parpaglia and from Oswald Massingberd, who were supposed to know all about the old commanderies. He was to follow their advice and that of the Knight Antonio a Toledo, then to wait on Cardinal Pole, and do nothing without his consent. De Monserrat was to present the Grand Master's letters to Philip, should he be in England, asking him to help on matters with the Queen and Parliament. He was empowered to admit into the Order new knights and chaplains,—«worthy gentlemen who should have proved their nobility and paid the usual fees»—investing them with the commanderies provided. He was to follow Cardinal Pole's advice on all other matters requiring the Queen's sanction.

Mary Tudor needed little prompting in the matter. She placed all ecclesiastical interests under the Holy See and under Cardinal Pole, the Pope's Legate *a latere*. Letters Patent were issued, dated Greenwich, 2nd April 1557, restoring the Tongue in the Kingdom of England and much of its property. (2) Pole (5th May 1557) re-integrated, in their former state, the Priorate of England, at St. John's Clerkenwell, and nine of the old commanderies. The Bailiwick of Eagle, and the Commandery of Slebeche and Halston, an appanage of the Turcopiliership, were included among these commanderies. (3)

The three re-constituted dignities were bestowed in

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(1) Vol. 422 L.B. 1563—4 f 230; V. 420 L.B. 1556—8 f. 202 Ms. Istruzioni 1522-1654. Malta Cath. Archives. pp. 108-9.

(2) Col. Porter. in an appendix to the 2nd Vol. of his History of the Knights of Malta, London, 1858, gives the English translation of these letters patent. pages 279-483

(3) Ms. 885—See Document reported in appendix III.

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remuneration for services rendered to the new sovereigns. Sir Thomas Tresham of Rushton, was appointed Grand Prior, Sir Richard Shelley, Turcopilier, and Sir Peter Felices de la Nuca, Bailiff of Eagle. (1) The latter was the only previously professed member of the Order. (2). De la Nuca belonged to the Langue of Castile and Leon, and the Spanish knights lost no time in lodging a reservation against his rights of preference and pre-eminence, deriving from his newly acquired Grand Cross, in so far as the dignities of their own Langue were concerned (3). Of the old knights, Sir Cuthbert Layton obtained the Commandery of Newland, Sir Edward Browne that of Templebruer, Sir Thomas Tyrrel that of Willington, Sir Henry Gerard that of Yveley and Barrow, Sir George Aylmer that of South-Baddisley, Sir James Shelley, brother of the Turcopilier, and who later on made his profession in Malta, obtained the Commandery of Templecombe. To Sir Oliver Starkey fell the last Commandery, that of Quenington.

All the above-named were inducted in the great hall of the Priory, with all due formality, by a regular deed, engrossed on parchment. The deed is still preserved, with other documents, in the Public Library of Malta (4).

The same proceedings were followed with regard to the contemporary re-establishment of the Priorate of Ireland. On the 5th. May 1554, Cardinal Pole, at the request of the

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(1) Parchment dated December 1557. In manuscript volume 139 f. 27 P. R. M. mention is made of another deed on the same subject entered at Bruxelles, 13th January 1558.

(2) Tresham had proclaimed Queen Mary in Northampton, on the 18th November 1553 and escorted her on the way to London.— «Sir Richard Shelley, a genuine but loyal Romanist, who lived in exile for thirty years rather than conform to the established religion, advocated an attempt to convert Elisabeth by fair means» (A. D. 1586) Pollard, Hist. p. 394.

(3) One of the parchments, with accompanying seal, preserved in the Public Library, is dated from Westminster, the 7th. March of the 4th and 5th year of Philip and Mary. It bears the note «a free doneson for Peter de Felices spanyard»

(4) Ms. 885, app. III.

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Sovereign, re-stablished the Irish Priorate, and Sir Oswald Massingberd was re-appointed to it. The Archbishop of Dublin and two Bishops of Ireland were commissioned to put Massingberd in possession. Philip and Mary's Letters Patent, dated the following March, ratified and sanctioned the re-establishment of these Irish Dignity and commanderies (1).

All these restorations, however, were doomed to be short-lived.

On the 17th November 1558 Mary Tudor died, and Elizabeth, during the very first year of her reign (1, Eliz. c. 24) (2), reduced the knights to the state which had preceded her sister's accession to the Throne. Tresham died in harness (3 March 1559), invited to the end to sit and vote in Parliament. Massingberd resigned his Priory in the hands of Thomas Earl of Sussex, by Royal Authority, 3rd June 1559 (3).

The Turcopilier, Sir Richard Shelley, made his way to the Continent. The Bailiff of Eagle, Felices de la Nuca, Starkey and Schelley sought shelter in Malta. Of the other five, including Sir Henry Gerard, who had left Malta in 1559, nothing is known. In all probability they returned to the places where they had found shelter during the latter years of Henry VIII and during Edward VI's reign.

La Valette and his Council tried to effect a reconciliation (10th January 1561). Peter de la Fontaine, Grand Hospitaller and General of the Galleys, was despatched to London with power to negociate and treat with Elizabeth (4). We do not even know whether he did actually set foot on English soil in view of the then prevalent anti-Catholic atmosphere. It seems, however, that Elizabeth's Government did not display absolute aversion towards the Order. In 1565 public prayers were offered in the diocese of Salisbury

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(1) See appendix III.
(2) Statues of the Realm Vol. f. 399. [1584—1585]
(3) Rymer l. c. Vol XV f. 527.
(4) Vol. 90 L c. 1558-60 f.124 t.; v. 428 L. B. ff. 220t. e 221.

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for the deliverance of Malta from the Turks. And upon receipt of the news that the siege had been raised a general thanksgiving was ordered through out the province of Canterbury by Archbishop Parker (1)

Martin Royas de Portalruvio, afterwards Bishop of Malta, when addressing the Council of Trent as the spokesman of the Order, confined himself to reporting the spoliation suffered by the Order in connection with circumstances then prevalent in England. This was in terms of the instructions conveyed to him on the 21st July 1567. Portalruvio added that the Order was ever ready to lend help in the cause of Holy Church.

The Order's hospitality had for the nonce to be exercised in aiding, without ostentation, its own despoiled brethren. Sir Oliver Starkey and Sir James Shelley were placed in the Convent on a par with the other knights of their standing in the matter of lodging, board and raiment. Under the title of «alberge, table and soldea», they received pensions adequate to their rank, which allowed of each one of them having a house of his own, as has elsewhere been stated (2).

From Starkey's application, presented to, and passed by, the Chapter General held in Malta, on 5th December 1569, it appears that he was in receipt of a pension from the Common Treasury of 102 scudi and 6 tarì, besides the «gaggi» or allowances usually paid to the Lieutenant Turcopilier, table and soldea, allowances for the cook, porter, and butler, and the rents of the houses belonging to the Tongue. From that date he was granted an increase of 15 scudi to the allowances of the Lieutenancy, to make up the 60 scudi which were paid yearly to the other Conventual Bailiffs. (3) Later on, on the 21st June 1571, Starkey was authorized to receive a pension of 400 scudi from any priory whatsoever, and James Shelley, after having

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(1) Liturgies and Services of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, Parker Society, 1847.

(2) Vol 91 f 7t. —under the date of 17 May 1561.

(3) Vol. 432. L.B. an. 1568-9 f. 180t.

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been granted by the Common Treasury, (20th May 1573,) an additional pension of 50 scudi, obtained permission from the Council to draw from the Treasury up to 300 scudi (22nd November 1574). At that sitting the Bailiff of St. Stephen, Antonio Bologna, gave Shelley 50 scudi out of the rents of his own baliage.

Sir Richard Shelley on entering the Order had provided for his own maintenance. He had retained the usufruct of his own patrimony.in the deed making over all his belongings to his heirs. The Grand Master, in consideration that Sir Richard had thus been of no burden to the Common Treasury, keeping himself out of his own means during his three years' residence in Malta, gave him power (15th June 1569) to sell and alienate all and any property then held or in future to be held by him (1).

Shelley's residence in Malta, as Prior of England, after Tresham, incidentally appears in the records on the question of his precedence in Council, and also in connection with various investitures with the habit, girdle and sword, given, now to Spanish and now to Italian knights, in the Church of St. Anthony and Our Lady of Monserrat at Vittoriosa (2).

Sir Peter Felices de la Nuca in compensation for the loss of his revenues of the Baliage of Eagle, had pensions, and commanderies conferred on him by the Langue of Castile and Leon, to which his seniority of reception entitled him. Englishmen and Irishmen claimed of right commanderies in French, Spanish and Italian priories, in which they had been received, as having been born or naturalized in the territories of such priories.

NOMINAL DIGNITARIES OF THE TONGUE

Even during the lifetime of the two Shelleys and of Starkey, the prerogatives and distinctions annexed to the

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(1) V. 432, f. 180.
(2) V. 431, f. 217t. L. B. 1565-7; 18 Dec. 1567 and 28. Feb. 1568.

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four dignities of the Tongue of England began to be coveted by distinguished members of the other legions of the Order. Mathurin d'Aux de Lescout, a Guascon knight, called «Romegas», was the first to succeed in securing one of the English Grand Crosses. He had gained high reputation in the command of a galleon and two galleys belonging to La Vallette, and in leading to action the pontifical galleys in the battle of Lepanto. (1). His brethren of the Langue of Provence, on seeing him return to Malta decked with the insigna of his new rank, struck by the novelty, and, perhaps, moved by jealosy, laid their remonstrances before the Council (15th January 1572). But two pontifical briefs had opened the way to Romegas attaining the Grand Cross and Turcopiliership.

Without Romegas' knowledge, three special envoys from the Council repaired to Rome, to submit to the Holy Father the prejudice the Tongue of England, in particular, and the Order, in general, would suffer «were members of other nationalities, belonging to other Langues, to attain dignities and to become chief and pilier of that Tongue,» the more so as there were in the Convent English knights wearing the habit and interested in the matter. «Moreover, should Her Serene Highness the Queen of England hear of the conferment of such a dignity on a stranger, she must feel much offended and would, were that kingdom to return to the obedience of the Church, with great difficulty restore to the Order the lands and dignities belonging to it in her Kingdom (2)». Pope Gregory XII satisfied them by modifying the concession granted to Romegas, transferring it from the Turcopiliership to the Priory of Ireland! (3).

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(1) J. De la Graviere. La Bataille de Lepanto. Paris, 1888, v 2. f. 6 v. I f. 19; and Comm: B. del Pozzo, Hist: della S. Religione, Verona, 1715.

(2) Vol. 433 L. B. f. 263 and vol 6425 f. 25. P. R. M. Instructions given on 9th December 1571 to Commander J. Tello de Guzman, Prospero Pignon and Francois de Morreton, «Chalrillan.»

(3) Vol. 93 L. C. an. 1570-73 ff. 104 and 105.

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The Tongue of England had evidently lost all power and could be defied with impunity! It was only the general and statutory interests of the Corporation that could be adduced to check the onslaughts made against it. This first attack having been as well as possible disposed of, a second one comes unexpectedly from another quarter. The Vice-Roy of Naples, Marquis de Mondessor, has recourse to Rome and applies for and obtains the Turcopiliership for his son, D. Pedro Gonzales de Mendoça, who had not as yet received, the habit, and whose proofs of nobility were at the moment (24th September 1576) being entered in the Priory of his nation, Castile and Leon. (1).— D. Pedro, on his way to Malta, was vested with the insigna of the acquired Grand Cross by a bishop of Calabria, delegated by the Sovereign Pontiff for the purpose. But the Knights, on his arrival, did not let him land! (2).

The Commanders Baldassare Imperatori, Diego de Salis and Ludovic de Roche, *dit* «La Boullaya», now repeat to the Holy Father, on behalf of the Grand Master and Council, what had been submitted by their colleagues in the case of Romegas, adding «that the Turcopilier would have to take precedence over the chiefs of the Langues of Germany, and Castile in Council and public sessions, and not only over them but over thirty other Grand Crosses, Priors and Balis of all the other Langues; and as this would touch to the quick a point of honour made so much of among so many noblemen, it might be the cause, as in times past, of some revolution or scandal (3)». The stand made by the Knights, and their expostulations, led to the renunciation by Gonzales of the Turcopiliership (15th April 1578), on his receiving in exchange a Grand Cross, with the last place in Council, and the reversion of the Baliage of Eagle and of other dignities of the Tongue (4). Romegas' death, in 1581,

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(1) Vol. 94 f. 135.
(2) Vol. 6425 f. 26.
(3) Ms. No. 25 «Istruzioni» f. 183 Archives of the Malta Cathedral
(4) Vol. 437 f. 192 P R. M.

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approved there. He became Bailiff of Eagle in 1588 (1) and gained passage to the dignity of Grand Prior of England (8 July 1593) (2), after a hard contest in the Roman tribunals. Having secured that position, he at once took steps (1st March 1594) to enforce the provision which excluded members of the Tongue who were non-nationals from sitting and voting in the magisterial elections among the eight representatives of the eight Langues (3),—thereby incontestably reserving that privilege to himself. It may be imagined that having built up for himself such an enviable position, Clancy's claim to the Turcopiliership threatened Wyse's prospects very close. Wyse therefere, hastened to Rome, and with the valid support of the Grand Master and of the Order, succeeded in warding off the threatened danger. To prevent eventual similar tactics he obtained a Magisterial Bull confirming him in his possession of the Priory. According to established custom, he could not now be deprived of his possession before the lapse of ten years (4).

The statutory, administrative and political difficulties, as well as the unfortunate precedents created by these admissions made under unfavourable economic circumstances, were vividly described by the Grand Master to the Commander Fulvio Pasi, his ambassador in Rome, to induce the Papal Court to desist from lending further countenance to similar machinations by the Irish. The existence of the statutory limitations for the natives of Ireland had even been placed in doubt, against the letter of the 31st Statue, «of Commanderies»,

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(1) Vol 97 L. C. 1585-89 f. 123t. Wysse, to obtain this this bailiwick, contented himself with the last place among the bailiffs in the following terms: «non intendit nec vult si ei concederetur dicta dignitas baiulivates aquilae precedere vel preloqui ante ullum ven dorum Baiulivorum Capitularium sed post eos omnes, idque per se et nomine proprio tantum sine prejudicio suo ac successorum Baiulivorum Aquilae «*donec* et *usque* bona vendr. linguae Angliae nunc usurpata religioni restituantur quia tunc ad locum baiulivo Aquilae debitum ut antiquitus consuetum erat redibit et revertetur» (28 April 1588).

(2) Vol. 447 f. 318.

(3) V. 447 ff. 202t. e 316.

(4) Vol. 451. f. 198. Vol. 450 f. 267

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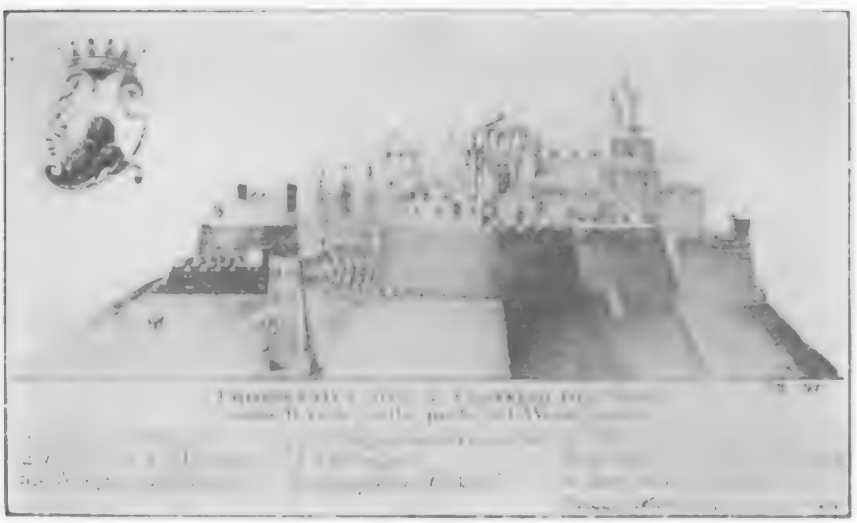
Sir Andrew Wysse

(from a portrait in St. John's Clerkenwell)



The Gozo Citadel

reproduced from an old print.

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promulgated by La Valette, and a pretended difference was imagined between the Irish and the English nobility. Things had, in fact, gone so far as to bring about the dismissal of English and Irish refugees who were being given hospitality by members of the Order in this Island. (1) Pope Clement VIII and Cardinal Aldobrandini, under the circumstances, saw the expediency of leaving Clancy and his friend to their fate (2).

The last attempt on the Turcopiliership came from Henry, King of France and Navarre, who, through Pope Paul V, (5 Dec. 1605) (3) sought to secure it for François Pingue de Spinay «St. Luc», who had not yet donned the habit of the Order. Grand Master Alof Wignacourt, confronted with this new obstacle, deftly succeeded in having the concession revoked (29th March 1608), conferring on the royal favourite at the same time, the Commandery of Expaulx, by *magisterial grace*! (4).

The other dignities of the Tongue presented no such difficulties. Once the property of the Order in the British dominions had been confiscated, the statutory limits for the admission of members in the Tongue fell through, and those dignities were open to all knights as mere titular benefices, similar to others belonging to countries from which the Order had been precedently expelled. Besides, their incorporation, with Papal sanction, in the Grandmastership (3rd December 1583 and 25th September 1612), placed them in the gift of the Grand Master, and excluded them from being claimed by any one by right of option (5).

To avoid their being granted by favouritism the Council suggested that the dignities should be subject to regular smutition among the senior knights, and instructed the Prior of Capua, Giovanni Bichi, to solicit the Papal sanction thereto

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(1) Vol. 100 L. C. an. 1597-1603 ff. 67 and 77 under date 22 June and 5 Oct. 1528

(2) Cardinal's approval is reported in Letter dated 29 August 1588.

(3) Vol. 101. L. C. 1605-1606 f. 211.

(4) Vol. 456 ff. 20 and 21 t.

(5) Vol. 96 L. c. 1581—5. f. 154 t. vol 458 L.B. 1612—15 f. 243.

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(1st July 1656). But they continued, as hitherto, to be conferred on favourites.

As a matter of fact the knights of other nationalities invested with those dignities brought no discredit on the rank conferred on them, and the Tongue of England would have held them in honour had it still been in existence.

The arrangements above referred to put no obstacle to the exercise of hospitality towards the subjects of the English Crown, whatever their religion, when they happened to come to Malta.

Separate wards were reserved in the Infirmary for non-Catholic patients, and more than one Protestant Englishman enjoyed the advantage of treatment in the Infirmary, (1) more than one non-Catholic traveller found shelter therein, more than one English sailor owed his life to it (2).

ATTEMPTS TO RE-ESTABLISH THE TONGUE OF ENGLAND

The religious cataclysm in England and the tension which it created in Anglo-Maltese relations reduced the «Tongue of England» to a mere name. In 1601, the only so called member of the Tongue in Malta was D. Pedro Gonzales de Mendoça. Mendoça set himself to represent the

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(1) The Council registers record, on the 13 oct. 1667, the readmittance in the Infirmary, by Order of the Grand Master and Council, of an Englisman whom the French Knights had dismissed to avoid giving a pretext to the Inquisitor to enter that establishment. Another resolution, of 9 August 1709, places on record the treatment given in the Infirmary to a Protestant Englishman who had embraced Mahomedanism. (V. 265 f. 209) Elsewhere mention is also made of the pulling down of the masonry with which the doors comunicating these wards with the main building of the Infirmary had been walled up, by order of Rome.

(2) Further on in the chapter on Anglo-Maltese relations at the extinction of theTongue, mention is made of English seamen who were given shelter and treatment in the Knight's Great Hospital.

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Tongue at the magisterial election by which Alof de Wignacourt became Grand Master and Sovereign of Malta (1)

The save appearances, it was being sought to represent the once existing eighth Legion of the Order by a mere fiction, without any advantage, nay, perhaps, to the actual disadvantage of the Corporation as a whole. In these circumstances it was but natural that the Knights should be very keen in seeking to improve the situation and to lose no opportunity which might seem to favour their object.

Being apprised of the voyage undertaken by Charles, then Prince of Wales, with a view to his marriage, the Grand Master and Order decided (20th April 1623) on seeking the favour of the future sovereign of England (2).

The Prior of the Conventual Church, Salvatore Imbroll, had been sent to Rome to treat on various affairs. He was instructed, whilst there, to feel the ground «whether it would displease the Holy Father were the Religion to send ambassadors to compliment the Kings of England on the occasion of accessions to the throne, marriages, and other ceremonies, with a view to facilitate the recovery of the property of the Order» (3). But it seems that these advances came to nothing, as no embassy was sent by the Order, for the purposes above stated, before the Embassy sent by Grand Master Carafa to James II (1685), hereinafter alluded to ,

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(1) Vol. 100 L. C. 1597-1603 f. 167 «Ex Venda. lingua Angliae ipsemet se elegit Illustris et Ven. Prior Hyberniae dns frater Don Petrus Gonçales de Mendoça, qui repertus est solus ex ipsa Angliae lingua».

(2) Vol. 106 L. C. 1616-20 at page 4 of the annexed «*Codiculus Regentis Cancelleriae*, Imbroll, a die 21 Martii 1623». P.R.M.—*Translation* «At the same sitting the Council, having read the letters of its Ambassador at the French Court, Formageres, Prior of Toulouse, to the effect that the Prince of Wales had been in France on his way to Spain in view of his future marriage, and that he had to go thence to Rome —ordered that their ambassador at Rome with a view should be written to take steps for the recovery of the Tongue's property in England. The Grand Master was given a free-hand on the subject».

(3) Ms «Istruzioni» f. 382. in the Archives of the Malta Cathedral.

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On the other hand, as is well known, the Stuarts failed to set at their true value, the atmosphere and the times in which they lived and so the Catholic cause, with which the destinies of the Order were bound, derived no benefit from their dynasty. The antagonisms and conflicts between King and Parliament arising out of Charles I's reluctance to recognize the rights his subjects claimed in the «Petition of Rights», ended in the miserable spectacle of that king's decapitation.

In such circumstances the project for the restoration of the Tongue, submitted (21 February 1639) to Grand Master Lascaris and his Council by Sir Nicolas Fortescue (1), with the Queen Consort's acquiescence, could serve no useful purpose.

The hypothetical restitution of the priories and commanderies, taken from the Knights by the later Tudor sovereigns, formed the foundation of the edifice which it was sought to restore. So long as this property was not given back, it was estimated that twelve thousand scudi a year were necessary to keep, with due decorum, the four dignitaries and the other knights of the Tongue, giving them «table and soldea» (food and raiment) and lodging, in the Palace and the Auberges of the other Langues. (2)

Fortescue's efforts had no other result than that of securing his admission to the Order as a Knight of Justice, within the limits of the Tongue of England, with faculty to wear the cross, on the express condition, however, of forfeiting such honours and benefices should he not, within three years, return to Malta to go through his noviciate (3).

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(1) Lord Clermont, The Family of Fortescue. London 1888.

(2) Vol. 1111 «Relazioni di Commissari 1630-40»: vol. 112. Lib. Cons 1636-39 f. 190 in which are recorded the commendatory letters of Pope Urban VIII of the 8 January 1639 and of Cardinal Barbarino to Grand Master Lascaris.—L. Vizzari di Saunazzaro in his Monograph: «La Lingua d'Inghilterra nel S. M. Ordine, Roma 1913» reproduces these and other documents. We therefore dispense ourselves from giving them here, although they had been prepared for this work so far back as 1907.

(3) Vol. 468. L. B. f. 169: Lord Clermont. The Family of Fortescue. London 1880 p. 20-21: Dal Pozzo Historia I.—Sir Nicholas Fortescue died in battle in 1644.

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After Fortescue, at the death of King Charles, a Don Prospero Colonna, who had been invested with the title of «Prior of Ireland», lent his support to another attempt, made by Irishmen, to again set up the Tongue.

This attempt had no better result than that of Clancy in 1598, already referred to (1).

The Order's Ambassador at Versailles, Balì de Souvray, had informed Grand Master Lascaris of the desire of Queen Henrietta Maria, the widow of Charles I., that the Order should unite with other powers to help her first born son to get back his father's throne. Colonna's endeavours, as well as other following attempts, may possibly be connected with the wish to further that end. The Council had officially excused the Order from giving help to the Queen Dowager, on the ground of their engagements in the wars with the Turks, but it declared that any knight fighting for the Queen's cause would enjoy all privileges as if he were in Malta or with the galleys of the Order (2).

Those who were interested in reviving the Tongue showed signs of life when John Somerset, second son of Henry, third Marquis of Worcester, passed through Malta on his return from the Holy Land in 1653. They induced Somerset to submit a fresh scheme. The confiscated property was no longer to be looked forward to, on the contrary no reliance was to be placed on property on British soil. The idea was to provide sufficient capital to secure a revenue of 20,000 scudi from property to be acquired abroad. This would be enough to keep the Tongue, as restored by Cardinal Pole in 1558, with as many members as were included in the list of pensioners in the act of Henry VIII of 1540. There were to be seven commanderies for military brethren, three at 2,000 and four at 1,000 scudi each. The Prior of England was to receive 4,000 scudi, and the Prior

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(1) Vol. 258 L. C. S. 1645-50 ff. 224t. and 224t. under the dates of the 15th Sept. and 18th Oct. 1650

(2) Vol. 258 L. C. S 1645-50 ff. 183t. and 184t.

of Ireland and the Baliliff of Eagle 2,500 scudi each (1). The project, presented to the Council of the Order on the 17th December, and reported upon by a commission on the 22nd following, was highly praised and approved of. But it had the same end as Fortescue's (2).

A last tentative was made under the auspices of James II. Count François de Thun, on his presenting the congratulations of Grand Master Carafa to the English Sovereign, (23 May 1685) was instructed to fathom James's mind as to the re-establishment of the Tongue. But the new ruler maintained perfect silence on this point, and the Ambassador, in his letter of 7 of September 1685, suggested to Carafa to try the way of Rome (3). James' envoy in Rome, the Earl of Castlemaine,

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(1) Vol. 6390 f. 325 P.R.M.

(2) Vol. 258 f. 229

(3) Caraffa's letter dated 23 may. 1685 in vol. 1211 P.R.M. runs as follows:

Serme. et Invictme. Rex — Ad solium Magnae Britanniae Serme. Mtis. V.rae gloriosissima assumptio tali fuit universum per Orbem gaudio suscepta, ut nec concipi facile possit. Patiatur igitur Serme. Mtas. Vra ut inter festinatis Orbis acclamationes meas pariter permiscere liceat, et mihi, qui cum hac tota Sti. Jo. Baptae. Religiosa militia nuncium iucundius accipere haud equidem poteram. Video enim clementissimum Deum iacturas ipsas vertisse in lucra quodve merentibus nobis abstulerat, exultantibus illico nobis luculentissime reparasse. In hoc itaque assequta est summam votorum christiana Res pa vel quidquam superat adhuc ipsi exoptandum unice est incolumnitas diuturna Serme. Mtis V.rae, sub qua ea sibi incrementa valet indubie promittere, quae tanti Regis glorias avitas ne dum equent perfecte sed superent Atque incrementis hujusmodi gavisurum partier spero Sti. Joan. Baptae Militarem hunc Ordinem, qui per tot secula strenuis equitibus generosae istius Nationis quam maxime decoratus tandem fato adversante, eo sese honore ingemuerat viduatum. quo nunc tamen sperat se iterum illustrandum. Et annuet profecto annuet Serma. M.tas Vra. votis hmoi, sicut annuet pariter Deus calidis precibus quae a me et a Religiosis istis Equitibus pro eiusdem Serme. Mtis. Vrae incolumitate, et prosperis ad omnia successibus assidue porrigentur. Coeterum Ser.mam M tem V.am certam desidero, nil mihi cum hac universa Religiosa Militia esse magis in votis quam posse, quibusve occurrere opportunitatibus, quae aditum praebeant testandi erga S. M. V. obsequentissimum animum nostrum,

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and the Marchese Sacchetti, Ambassador of the Order, later on took up the matter. The Order insisted, in the first instance, on having the means of honourable maintenance guaranteed. Sacchetti's first letter on the subject

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eiusdemque potentissimum patrocinium nobis quandolibet valeant promoveri. Dabuntur Melitae Die 23 mensis Maji 1685.

Count Thun's report to Carafa, dated 7th September 1685, was to the following effect :—

Monseigneur—J éu récu avec tout le respect du l'ordre de V.re Eminence, dont elle m' honora du 22 de May, en me l'envoyant pour plus de seureté en double, suivant le quel je n'ay pas manqué de presenter a sa Majestè Britt nique dans une audience particulier ses letters de condolence et en suite celles de congratulation, de la quelle demostration le Roy se trouva extremement satisfait et se servit de cette expression qu' il l'estimoit tant plus qu' elle venoit d'un Ordre, qui estoit de sa profession, voulans dire qui professoit les armes par mer et par terre. Et pour donner a S. M. a mieu connoitre la personne de Vre. Em.ce, je luy dis comment elle fus General de la Religion a la Batteille et Grande victoire remporte aux Dardanelles ; je touschay en suite le desir et le souhait de V. Em ce à voir par le moyen de S. Mtè restablir le huitieme langue de l'Ordre, mais elle laissa ce point sans reponce en se mettant sur d'autres particularites. Et moy je tant mois voulus insister la dessus que Je ne suis moy mesme, que trop asseurè de la difficulté, qui se rencontreroit dans une pareille entreprise, tous les biens de l'Ordre estant possedez par les plus grands du royaume, on l'on se pourroit plus tost flatter de l'esper nce d'une nouvelle fondation que de leur arracher ces illegitimes possessions Le Roy se trouvant en outre encore si nouveau dans sa regence, qu il a assez à faire de s'y pouvoir maintenir, comme il ne maintient aussi les Catholiques que par pure connivence, les loix du Royaume, aux quelles il est soumis leur estant en tout point contraires, avec le temps pourtant, et selon les conjonctures des pareilles instances se pourrons avec meilleur succes faire, par la Cour de Rome.

Voicy Monseigneur ce que je fus capable de faire en execution des ordres de Vre. Emce. ne souhaitant rien plus au monde, que de me voir souvent honoré de ses commandements, les quels, quoy que je ne les attends plus icy, estaret sur mon depart pour retourner a la Cour de S. M. Imperle., je executeray tousjours en quelque lieu que je saray avec la derniere punctualité, Comé estant avec un profond respect—De Vre. Eminence—le tres obeiesant religieuse et treshumile Ser. —Windsor ce 7 de Sept. 1685 —Le Comdr. fra frans. Comte de Thun—Original in Ms. 929 f. 300 M.P.L; V. 262 L.C.S. f. 37. P.R.M.

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(5 April 1987) was read to the Council and a commission was appointed on the 7th May. The Grand Hospitaller Cintray, the Admiral Giacomo Cavaretta, the Grand Bailiff Fridagh, and the Grand Chancellor Sousa, gave their report on the 6th June. They insisted, as a first step, on the Tongue receiving its old property or on having other lands and privileges assigned to it (1).

Whilst these negotiations were pending (7 July 1687) Sir William Trumbull, James's Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, arrived in Malta on his way to Costantinople. He was commissioned to compliment the Grand Master and hand him a Royal Letter, dated 9 April, relative to a prize taken by the Marquis Fleury of a cargo from an English ship. Trumbull was received with honour and was given a Royal salute (2).

James' natural son, Henry Stuart Fitz-James, arrived in Malta shortly after, and was presented with a rich octagonal cross in diamonds, inherited by the Common Treasury from the «spoils» of Antonio Sousa, Bali of Montenegro, (3). But there was no time to conclude anything. Scarcely a year after, James was compelled to seek refuge in Ireland and then in France, and to allow his throne to be occupied by William of Orange. Even when in exile, he continued, to show great interest in the Order. On the 29th January 1688 he had, through his ambassador, asked for the admission of certain English and Irish gentlemen into the Order, but the Order was cautious enough to delay any steps pending the result of the negotiations with which its commissioners were entrusted (4).

From Saint Germain, on the 24 February 1689, James asked for a Grand Cross and the Priory of England for his son above mentioned. His request was granted, and James returned thanks from his Court in Dublin on the 13 July 1689 (5).

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(1) Vol. 263 L.C.S. 1687-92 ff 4.6.7.

(2) ibi f. 10 and vol. 1208 Correspondence: leaves unnumbered.

(3) Vol. 263 f. 21t. under the 5th. Dec. 1687.

(4) L. C. S. 1687-92;

(5) Vol. 263 f. 62: Ms. 929 f, 30; Vol. «Diverse scritture» Archbishop's Archives. See page 37 and 38 of this work.

Thus the first dignity of the Tongue of England came to be held, titularly, by an Englishman of royal blood. When it subsequently passed to the Italian Knights Bovio and Ferretti, James Francis Edward, the «Pretender», the representative of the House of Stuart, complained of the innovation. James Francis Edward, son of James II, had been proclaimed «Sovereign of Great Britain and Scotland» by Louis XIV, and recognized as such by the Pope. He insisted, by repeated letters, from his Court,—at the Palazzo Muti, Rome, and in the Villa Albano,—that the Grand Masters should reserve this dignity for Englishmen (1). The Order complied by transferring Francesco Maria Ferretti, who had been holding the title of «Prior of England» (2), to the Bailiwick of Cremona. On the 9th August 1726 the English title was bestowed on Sir Nicholas Gerardin, a member of an old Irish family. Sir Nichalas, however, was to have the lowest place among the Capitular

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(1) Ms. 929 f. 36 M.P.L. and v. 571 P.R.M. «Mon Cousin, Ayant demandè ces jours cy au Pape, qu'il eut la bontè quand l'occasion se presenteroit de ne point disposer des Grands Prieurés de mes Royaumes ni de donner des Coadjuteurs aux Grands Prieurs presens, sans ecouter ce que j'aurai a lui representer sur ces chefs, S. S. a repondu avoir dit a votre Ambassadeur qu'Elle laisseroit agir la Religion dans toutes les affaires qui la regardoient, de sorte que ces matieres dependantes entierement de la Religion, c'est avec une entiere confiance que je me addresse a Vous, vous priant d'avoir pour moy les egards prattiqués envers les autres Princes en pareilles occasions, ne doutant nullement aprés toutes les marques que j'ay receu de Vos attentions et devote amitie', que vous ne me fassiez ce nouveau plaisir, qui m'engagera d'autant plus a avoir pour votre Religion, et pour votre personne en particulier l'estime et l'amitie' la plus parfaite. Sur ce je prie Dieu qu'il vous ait Mon Cousin en sa sainte et digne garde. A Rome ce 14 Sepbre. 1725 — Votre affectione' Cousin — JACQUES, R. —*Address* M. le Grand Maitre de Malte.—

Another original letter of the Pretender to the Grand Master, on the subject of his petition for the Grand Priory on behalf of Peter Fitz-James, dated from Rome, 20thJanuary 1731, is to be found in vol. 1203 «Lettres de la Cour» p. 25. P.R.M.

(2) Francesco. M. Ferretti should not to be mistaken for Cesare Ferretti, the coadiutor of the Grand Prior Andrew Wysse, to whom the Council had allotted the last place amongst Grand Crosses during the life-time of his principal. Francesco Maria's nomination is registered

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Bailiffs and he was to hold the Grand Cross merely *ad honorem* should the Tongue be again re-organized (1). Two Englishmen obtained the title after him.—Peter Fitz-James, son of James Francis, Duke de Veraguas and Liria (2), admitted into the Order whilst a minor (9 December 1733) (3), and his brother Bonaventure who had been admitted, likewise whilst a minor (6th. December 1725), in the Langue of Castile and Leon, (4).

The title of «Prior of England» then passed to Com mander Gio-Batta Altieri, the third son of the prince of that name. Altieri retained it until the reconstitution of the Tongue as the «Anglo-Bavarian» Langue.

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in the Council books, 26th. March 1707, and Julio Bovio's on the 1st August 1701. Bovio had been Captain on the Pope's Fleet during the Pontificates of Alexander VII and Clement X. He had been commandant of the garrison at Avingnon and then secretary to GrandMaster Carafa and to the Treasury of the Order. *See* Parchments nos. 95 and 116 in Ms. 883. M. P. L.

(1) V. 144 L. C. S. an. 1731-3 f. 144; Vol. 1202 f. 217.

(2) V. 526 f. 28. James Francis Fitz-James was the son of James, Duke of Berwick, Marshal of France. The Duke of Berwick was a natural son of James Duke of York, afterwards James II, by Arabella Churchill daughter of Sir Winston Churchill. *Dict. Nat. Biog.* XIX p. 178.

(3) V. 146 L. C. an. 1734-36 f. 7.

(4) V. 529. f. 108. See V. 1204 ff. 371 and 396—James' letters dated 10 and 24 September and 6 December 1755.

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Arms of the Anglo-Bavarian Langue, 1782.

THE ANGLO BAVARIAN LANGUE

When all hope was lost of setting up again the old Tongue with national elements, the idea gained ground that new life might be given to it by ingrafting the nobility of some other country.

At the suppression of the Jesuits by Papal Decree, the property of their Society in Bavaria had to be abandoned, and it became possible to make use of it for some other purpose. On that occasion Grand Master Rohan and his predecessors were admirably well served by their Ministers at the Bavarian Court,—the Bali Sagramoso in 1773, and, after him, the Bali Flackslanden in 1781 83. Their suggestion, to convert the abandoned property into a new priory of the Order for Bavarian nobles, found favour with the Prince Elector Charles Theodore whose ambition was to gain *eclat* for the Bavarian State.

In Rome, however, the project encountered the same difficulties as the proposal to endow the University of Malta with the property held by the Jesuits in this Island,—difficulties which were fully described in my monograph on the Expulsion of the Jesuits from Malta in 1768 (1). Clement XIV would not hear of these transfers. It was necessary to wait for his successor to obtain approval for the incorporation of the property of the Society of Jesus on the basis of the aggregation to the Order of Malta, of the nobility of Bavaria, of the Dukedoms of Neuburg and Sulzbach, and of the High Palatinate.

The Tongue of England, was now practically extinct. But the Order persisted in maintaining its statutory number of Conventual bailiffs and magisterial electors, notwithstanding the absence of the English Dignitaries. At the same time the exclusivism of the Germans resisted all attempts at innovation in the composition of their Langue. It was this that brought about the incorporation, or, more correctly,

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(1) See «Archivum Melitense» vol. 2.—February 1914.

the substitution of the Bavarian Nobility to the elements formerly supplying members to the «Tongue of England», with the consequent modification of the ancient title into that of the «Anglo-Bavarian» Langue (1).

The house founded by the Jesuits at Ebensberg in 1603, became the appanage of the Grand Prior of the new Langue, with a revenue of 20,000 florins. Their college at Newburg, founded by Duke Wilhelm Wolfgang of Newburg in 1618, was transformed into a bailiwick with an annual revenue of 10,000 florins. The rest of the Society's property, yielding an aggregate revenue of 141,000 florins, was parcelled up into fourteen large commanderies: the Haunstaal commandery, yielding 9,000 florins, and thirteen smaller ones; whilst four others were destined for the Chaplains of the Priory (2). With the exception of a small commandery, reserved to a native of Malta, according to the custom prevalent in the other priories (3), all these endowments and commanderies were exclusively to be conferred on native subjects of Bavaria, and the candidates had to prove sixteen quarters of nobility in the same manner as those of the Langue of Germany (4).

The organic law establishing this new arrangement left no chance to the English to lay claim to any of the commanderies, baliage and priory, now instituted. Englishmen could only lay claim to the Turcopiliership and its Lieutenancy, which were open to both branches of the composite Langue. In the absence of English subjects, however, the two dignities were conferred *nem. con.* on Baron

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(1) Vol. 273 L. C. S. 1773-83 f. 273t.—P. R M.

(2) Ibi f. 290 See instructions to Flackslanden and Theodore Count Marawitzki 27 April 1782.

The names of the other Commanderies were: Biböurg, Kastel Amběrg, Landsberg, Erding, Stökelsberg, Enzenried, Stokau, Sulzbach Strauhingen, Schirling, Inglostadt, Landshut, Prien, Randeek, Mindelheim ad S. Johannem and the Deanery of Essing, added in favour of the Chaplains of the Priory (L. C. 22. December 1726).

(3) Vol. 273 f. 291.

(4) Vol. 163. f. 73 and following; vol. 162 f 105.

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George B. Flackslanden and on Baron Frederick Wieregg, respectively (1).

When this re-organization was being brought into being, steps were taken, but with the utmost circumspection, to obtain the assent of the British Sovereign. This object was secured through the good offices of the Neapolitan Plenipotentiary at the Court of St. James, Principe di Caramanica. George III only gave his consent to the arrangement on the 18th. July 1783, whereas the Pontifical sanction had been obtained on the 30th. September 1782 (2).

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(1) Vol. 163 f. 236. The chair of the Turcopilier in Council had been occupied, as previously explained, in accordance with decisions taken in 1543, 1551, and 1600, by a Lieutenant Turcopilier, latterly, the senior knight-commander in Malta. vol. 6384. P. R. M.

(2) Vol 162 ff. 193-4 The Chancellor of the Order in informing the Bali de Sagramoso at Naples (15th April 1783) of the establishment of the Langue and of the relative announcement forwarded to all the powers with whom the Order held diplomatic relations, adds:—

«Mais nous n'avons pu aussi aisément déterminer s'il convenait d'en écrire au Roi d'Angleterre auprés du quel l'Ordre n'a point de représentant mais qui n'a pas moins un interêt indirect à l'opération qui vient d'être consommée

Dans l'incertitude de faire une fausse démarche et d'en oublier une essentielle j'avais hasardé la tournure que vous jugerez dans ma lettre ci-jointe à M. Le Prince de Caramanica ministre Napolitain a Londres: mais S. Em.e avec justice a donnè l'exclusion à mon expédient pour n'en remettre le soin qu'à vous; c'est donc pour ma condemnation seulement que je vous envoje copie de mon griffonnage». Vol. 1581 fol 113. In the same volume at pp. 174-175 is registered Grand Master Rohan's letter of the 8th. June 1783 to Prince Caramanica, entrusting him with the mission to King George III Rohan's letter to this Sovereign has been published by Panzavecchia in «L'ultimo Periodo della storia di Malta» page 207— George III's reply is here published for the first time.

«Mon cousin, j'ai reçu avec bien de la satisfaction par le canal du Prince de Caramanica, Envoyé Extraordinaire de Mon Bon Frère le Roi des Deux Siciles, la lettre que vous m'avez écrite pour m'informer, qu'à l'occasion de la dotation faite à votre Ordre celebre par feu l'Electeur de Bavière des anciennes Possessions des Jesuites, une Langue nouvelle s'est établie en faveur de la Noblesse Bavaroise, à la quelle Langue par le moyen d'une incorporation, et par le voeu unanime de Votre Conseil, vous avez voulu donner la dénomination d'Angleterre et de Baviere. En vous felicitant de ces heureux suc-

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Karl Count of Brezenheim, son of the Prince Elector of Bavaria, was the first Grand Prior of the new Langue. The Prior of Bavaria was made a «Prince of the Holy Roman Empire» by His Cesarean Majesty, (25th. December 1779) (1).

John Casimir Hoefflin, private secretary to the Elector, besides receiving a Chaplain's commandery was given charge of the administration of the receipts with an honorarium of 1200 crowns. Hoefflin had accompanied to Malta the Mission of Count Minucci, Bavarian Plenipotentiary, for the final establishment of the Langue. Promoted to the Bishopric of the Chersonese and created a Grand Cross with a seat in Council, objections were raised (20th January 1796) to the effect that it was not usual for Conventual chaplains to receive the Grand Cross and to have a vote in Council. But these objections remained ineffective.

The dignities and commanderies having been duly filled, a Donat, a Secretary and an Archivist were appointed, the contributions or «responsions» were fixed, (2) and an auberge was selected—the Bali Carneiro's Palace,—for the residence of the members. The Chapel of St. Charles in St. John's was assigned for the special use of the new Knights, and all other details were settled on the same lines as the

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cés de vos soins continuels pour l'aggrandissement et la gloire de Votre Ordre, je suis trés sensible à la marque éclatante d'attachment pour la nation Angloise, qui s'est manifestèe dans ce nouvel arrangement. Je Vous prie d'être persuadé que je m'interesserai toujours bien vivement à tout ce qui peut contribuer à la prosperité d'un Ordre Militaire, qui a pour tant de siecles merité et conservè la haute estime et veneratiòn qu'il s'est acquis dès sa premiere formation. Je suis trés veritablement. — mon cousin —Votre bon cousin — A St. Jameś, ce 18. de Juillet 1783 — *Signed* George. » — Memorie Mgr. Chigi Zondadari, Vol. III. Letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State (27 September 1783)—Inquisitor's Archives, Archbishop's Palace Malta.

(1) Vol. 1540 Rohan Letters —leaves unnumbered. M. P. L.

(2) On 22 October 1784, 6000 scudi were voted for the maintenance of the auberge and of the chest of the Chapter. The Council approved the provision on the 17th. December following (Vol. 463 f. 731. Vol. 162 L. C. f. 103-104).

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other Langues. (1) The Anglo Bavarian Langue was in fact in full working order long before the end of Rohan's reign and the entry of his successor, Hompesch. At the latter's election the influence of the new Langue certainly made itself felt.

At the desire of the Cabinet of Prince Theodore of Bavaria a fraternity with the privileges of «confratres» had also been sanctioned by the Grand Master and Council on the 22nd April 1782. The rules for admission of a «confrater» required nobility of the postuiant up to the fourth degree on both the father and mother's side. The Prince Elector was the head of the Fraternity (2).

To commemorate the institution of the new Langue, GrandMaster Rohan struck a medal bearing on the observe his bust in armour and on the reverse an inscription allusive to the Order's having been increased by new legions «novo legionum accessu ampliatum». Two engraved medallions affixed to the Code of Laws issued by the same Grand Master record the same events. In one the Order is represented by a female in the garb of a warrior holding a round buckler displaying the arms of Poland. The inscription reads: Ordo Equest. cohorte Polon. auctus. — MDCCLXXVI. In the second medal Rohan is shewn receiving a standard from a female resting upon a shield emblazoned with the arms of Bavaria. It bears the inscription *Novum Decus additum Ordini. Nobiles Bavari adscripti MDCCLXXXII.*

The new Anglo-Bavarian Langue, on the 21st. June 1785, received an addition to its strength by the annexation of the Priory of Poland, the Council giving its approval thereto oh the 8th July. This Priory had been es-

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(1) Even the daily diet, or Auberge table-fare, was laid down by the Council (V. 163, f. 109) likewise the fees due to the secretary (18 January 1785) with the proviso that it rested with the Langue to have the coat-of-arms of each Knight drawn and painted on a special roll. For the archives of the Langue particular rooms were built in the Auberge, and the coat-of-arms of the Priory was fixed upon as has already been told elsewhere.

(2) Vol. 273 L. c. s. 1773-84 f. 289.

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tablished by virtue of two charters of the Republic of Poland, promulgated in Warsaw, on the 7th and 17th December 1775, in compensation for the Duchy of Ostrog. Janusz Duke of Ostrog, had bequeathed his territory at the extinction of his family to the Knights, in his will made by 1618, (1). King Stanislaus of Poland, at the death of Princess Teophila de Ostrog Lubomiski, sent James George Gordon to Malta with a letter soliciting the cession of the property of Ostrog (June 1711) (2) The Order, in deference to the King's. wishes, renounced to Janusz's bequest through their representative, the Bali Sagramoso. The Priory was erected in consequence of this arrangment (3).

The endowment of the Prior of Poland was of 42,000 florins, whilst 13,000 florins were assigned to each of six commanderies and to a bailiwick. To these were added, during the same year, five other commanderies in the gift of patrons. It was agreed that the first occupants need not be necessarily unmarried.

In earlier times the Kingdom of Poland had commanderies in Cracow, Zagost, Caden, Costen, Lesznic, Szulec, Posen and Stwolowitz, of which the last two only survived to witness the establishment of 1774. The Commandery of Posen, with a hospital and a church, dated its erection from 1170, that of Stwolowitz in

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(1) Will registered in the Chancery of the Order under the 26 April 1623.

(2) Vol. 266 L. C. S. 1709-16 f. 242t Prince Lubomisky had obtained from the Knights power to represent the Order and to be its and agent in that Duchy (L. C. 27 October 1673; 12 August 1676; 33 September 1682).

(3) Vol. 273 ff 69t 82-87, and 103. The Grand Prior of Bohemia, Emmanuel Count Kolowrath, had unsuccessfully applied to the Diet of 1754, on behalf of the Order (Vol 270 L, C, S 1746-54 ff. 244 and 268), to obtain the property originally left by Janusz Duke of Ostrog, Sagramoso succeeded in their object at the Diet of 1773. It was Sagramoso who gave the investiture to the new Knights in the chapel of the Papal Nuncio in Poland on the 18 December 1774.

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Lithuania was established by Prince Radziwill on the 20 November 1610 (1).

The Knights of this Priory were exempt from performing caravans in Malta, in view of the service they rendered in their native country, defending its frontiers against the Turks. (2)

After the partition of Poland between the neighbouring great powers, the lands belonging to the Order came within the jurisdiction of Russia, and the Polish Priory, by the convention of the 4th/15th January 1797, became the Grand Priory of Russia. The Emperor of Russia assumed the title of «Protector of the Order» (3).

One of the finest palaces in St. Petersburg was given the name of «The Palace of Malta» and the Arms of the Order were emblazoned on its front.

The escutcheon, arms and seal of the new Langue, on its receiving the addition of the Priory of Russia, were modified by the following disposition: «Art. VI Aux Armoires ou à l'Ecu de la Venerable Langue Anglo-Bavaroise sera ajouté le double aigle surmonté de la Couronne Impériale de Russie: ces armoires seront placés au milieu de la façade de l'hôtel de la Langue qui les adoptera égale-

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(1) J. de Rozan Sendlinger, Zbior krotki wiandomosci potrzebnych, Kawalerowi Maltanskienu. Warszawie 1775. p. 103 A letter of the King of Poland, on the subject of the old foundation, dated 11 July 1607, is preserved in vol. 6425 ff. 272 and 274 P. R. M. The controversy between Poland and Bohemia on the same subject is registered in the Chancery of the Order under the date of the 23rd. August 1642.

(2) Vol. 273 L. C. S 1773 83 fol. 69t. to fol 89. P. Pierling— La Russie et le Saint Siége, vol.V. Paris 1912 p.68-9 refers to the success obtained by the Marchese Michele Enrico Sagramoso in the final establisment of the Priory of Poland, as partly due to his shrewdness in playing upon the suscetibilities of his adversaries. «Si vous n'acceptez pas mes conditions, dit-il aux opposants, l'Ordre de Malte cède tous ses droits au roi de Prusse, Frédéric II, qui saura les faire valoir»

(3) Vol. 2196; Annales Historiques de l'Ordre de St. Jean de Jerusalem depuis l'année 1725 (Maisonneuve) —S. Petersbourg 1799 pag. 48-71.

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ment dans son sceau et dans sa banniére ou son pavillon (1).

By a subsequent agreement of the 17th./18th. November 1797 the six junior commanderies of the Russian Priory had their emoluments raised to nine thousand florins, and three new ones, worth 6000 each, were added for chaplains, one of whom to be a native of Malta (2). This latter appointment was given to Fr. Vincenzo Alessi. The Prince de Condé, Louis Joseph de Bourbon, was appointed Grand Prior, and Jules René Litta, Ambassador of the Order, received the Commandery of «St. Paul». Count A. Ilinski (20th. December 1797), Prince M. Lubomirski and Prince F. Sapeika (23rd. and 24th. January 1798) instituted three additional foundations, reserving to themselves the respective advowsons.

The incorporation of the Russian Priorate to the Langue was subject to approval by the Elector of Bavaria, (given on the 30th. November 1797), and by Paul I. (18th. February 1798) (3). The Priorate was to contribute to the

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(1) Acte d'Incorporation—1st. June 1798—in Vol. 2196 Priorate of Russia. (Leaves unnumbered) P.R.M.

(2) Maisonneuve, Annales. pag 78–83.

(3) The Emperor Paul's approval was in the following words: *Translation* «Monsieur le Grand-Maître,—L'Ambassadeur Comte de Litta, en me remettant la lettre de Votre Eminence du 21 Septembre de l'année echuée, a porté en même tems à Ma connoissance le projet d'un acte d'*incorporation* du *Grand Prieuré de Russie* dans l'ancienne *Langue d'Angleterre*, le quel, en vertù du traité conclu entre nous le 4/15 Janvier 1797, et nommément de l'article séparè 3, Votre Eminence vient d'arrêter, de concert avec le Conseil suprème de Son Ordre.

J'ai trouvé le contenu de cet acte en tout conforme au dit article et propre à en remplir le but: en conséquence Je n'ai pas balancé de l'agréer dans tous ses points; et Votre Eminence peut envisager Ma presente lettre, comme un acte d'acceptation et d'accession formelle que J'ai voulu y donner.—Je suis au reste—Monsieur le Grand Maître—De Votre Eminence le bien affectionnè ami— St. Petersbourg, Ce 28 Fevrier 1798 PAUL —contresegné: le Prince de Bezborodko—Collationnée et trouvée conforme a l'original le Conseiller d'Etate actuel—de Koch.

Au Grand-Maître de Malte.—vol. 2196. P.R.M.

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Auberge interest on 12,000 scudi invested in the «Massa Frumentaria» of the Municipality of Malta, and, besides, an annual subsidy proportionate to the number, not exceeding six, of its members boarding in the Auberge.

Paul I, however, was not satisfied. He wanted and actually secured the setting up of a new establishment for members of the nobility belonging to the Greek Communion. A Commission was specially appointed to report on the matter,—composed of the Balis, Montauroux, Great Commander, Frisari, Torring and Bentura, Lieutenant Conservator. They qualified this novel creation as an «aggregation for crosses of devotion such as have been granted at all times to persons professing other religions».

Two hundred thousand roubles were to be charged annually to the Imperial Treasury for the constitution of 98 commanderies with incomes of from 6000 to 1200 roubles, to be held by heteredox beneficiaries, duly qualified as to nobility by an assembly of their own who was to meet in the «Palace of Malta» at St. Petersburg. These knights were to serve four caravans, in Malta, on the galleys of the Order, or, in Russia, in the national army,—six months of service to count for a caravan. The Grand Master's Minister Plenipotentiary at the Russian Court was to supervise the meetings, and the Grand Master and Council in Malta reserved to themselves the ratification and approval of proofs of nobility and of all other measures (1).

In approving this new branch, on 1st. June 1798, the Grand Master and Council decreed that the Bali Comte de Litta, in recognition of his services, be presented with a cross set in brilliants (2). On the 7th. July of the preceding

(1) Paul's new foundation may be seen in Maisonneuve, Annales pag. 238 256; Terrinoni, Memorie della Resa di Malta—Roma, 1867 pag. 136-143.

(2) Litta had originally been sent to Russia by Grand Master Rohan at the request of Catherine II, to re-organize the Russian Baltic fleet and render it capable of fighting its Swedish adversaries. The work done by Litta in Russia in favour of the Knights and of the Holy See is amply referred by P. Pierling, La Russie et le Saint-Siège. vol. V.

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year the said Council had decreed that the Crosses of D'Aubusson, L'Isleadam and La Valette «be removed from the image of the Madonna of Filermo and sent to the Emperor of Russia substituting thereto others of at least equal value»

No sufficient time passed between the constitution of this last branch of the Order and the loss of the Order's Head quarters to allow of an exact idea being formed how the heterodox knights, living in the same Auberge and belonging to the same Langue, would adapt themselves to life in the Convent and fulfil its common religious practices.

ANGLO MALTESE RELATIONS AT THE EXTINCTION OF THE TONGUE.

Once the Tongue of England lost its vitality on its native soil, the influence it had exercised in the principality of Malta likewise ceased. That energy which had formerly given shape to, or at least modified the action of the Order in emergencies in which the interests of other powers were concerned, now lost its efficacy. At the same time the influence of the other powers in the international corporation of the Hospitallers continued to be operative. In this respect due weight should be given to the difficulties of the Order when a State cut itself adrift from the Catholic Church and its Chief. Composed of members and endowed with property belonging to the Catholic Powers, the neutrality of the Order in wars among such powers was an absolute necessity (1). The Order's dependence from the Pope required that due deference should be paid to his views and wishes and that its action

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(1) So late as in the war waged in 1523 the Order unmasted its ships then at Villafranca not to allow any of the contending parties to take advantage of them. Lib. Bull. an. 1522-24 f. 292.

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From a painting in the Crusaiders Hall, Versailles

CHAPTER GENERAL OF THE ORDER HELD IN 1514.

Medals commemorating the institutions of the Priorate of Poland and Anglo-Bavarian Language.

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should conform thereto. The donation of Malta by Charles V as King of Sicily, with the proviso not to harbour the enemies of that State, obliged the Order to give preferential treatment to the friends of the Sovereign of Sicily *i. e.* to the King of Spain. Moreover the Order had by its institution to continually wage war against the enemies of Christendom and this placed the Knights on many occasions in most unpleasant situations

The hostility to Rome existing in England at the time of the Reformation placed the British Crown and the Pope on the worst of terms. Pius V. anathemized Queen Elizabeth and warned the Faithful that they were to consider her, for all intents and purposes, as outside the Catholic Church. Schemes to reduce her to impotence and to restore the old Faith to its former state and favour suceeded one another, and received the support of the Pope and of the Catholic Princes.

The Scottish Court became a hotbed of French and Spanish intrigue. When James VI assumed the reins of government, plans for the invasion of Ireland and England were being constantly concocted. It was deemed advisable that Ireland should be under a separate Catholic Sovereign. The crown of that island was offered to Henry III, to Don John of Austria, and to the nephew of Pope Gregory XIII, Giacomo Buoncompagni. The first two declined the honour, and the submission of the Irish was accepted by the Pope (1). The Order of Malta, in the mind of the projectors of these schemes, was to have a share in the undertaking. The Grand Master was asked to join in the war and have Ireland in exchange for Malta. Malta was to return to the Spanish King, to be manned by a Spanish garrison, as the Mediterranean, in the opinion of these schemers, had virtually become a Spanish lake after the victory of Lepanto. The Order was shrewd enough, however, to perceive that it did not possess the means of maintaining itself in Ireland, even

(1) The History of England (1547-1603) by A.E. Pollard, London Longmans 1910 pp. 345, 429-30. The Cambridge Modern History V. 3. ch. 8 and 9.

were the risky enterprise to succeed, and it therefore paid no heed to it (1).

What part the Irish did actually play in these negociation, it is difficult to say. There is little doubt, that the aspirations of certain Irishmen, who had been compelled to abandon their country and possessions for the sake of their religion, were not such as to promote reconciliation in any shape between the Order and England.

The Order in Malta could not help falling under Spanish influence. The «Venerable Tongue of England» itself was being transformed into an element which acknowledged its dependency on Spanish power. The Priory of Ireland, held first by Pedro Gonzales de Mendoça, son of the Spanish Viceroy

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(1) A. Lobanov, Letters and official Documents of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, London, Dolman, 1847. The following is a translation of the Grand Master's reply as given by R. Bigsby, in a «Memoir of the Order of St. John,» Derby 1869 p. 116. Unfortunatly the original of this letter is no longer to be found in the Malta Archievs.

«Illustrious, dear, and well-beloved,—According to the memorial lately transmitted to us of the intentions of his Holiness and his Catholic Majesty, having communicated the entire to those whom the consequence of the affair justified us in consulting, we have found, in the first place, and such is our belief, that our hearts, forces, and lives being employed in the wars of Ireland would not be less engaged in watching and working for the universal church and the Christian religion — to which duty we are bound before God and man — than our remaining here in this island, to resist the invasion of the Turks. We recognize, in all humility, our Holy Father as our chief, and his Catholic Majesty as sovereign lord of our island, and as the right arm of our strength and defence. And therefore, we shall never fail to obey them in everything enjoined us. We thank them humbly in all sincerity of heart for the protection that it has pleased them to grant our college. For, without Spanish aid, we should soon be overwhelmed by the barbarians. We yet venture to represent, with all reverence to their sovereign Highnesses, that our brethren, nurtured in this climate which is warm, and supplied with all the necessaries of life, might perhaps find themselves grieved and offended by being constrained to live in Ireland, a cold, watery country, and in no ways fertile. So that instead of drawing different nations to join in this war, by means of our said brethren, aided by the high consideration of their sovereign Highnesses, there may, on the contrary, arise a general disinclination and dislike for such an undertaking».

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of Naples, continued, in subsequently immediate passages, in the hands of titulars who enjoyed the favour of the Spanish Sovereign. The same thing happened with the Bailiwick of Eagle which was conferred on the Knight Luis Mendez de Vasconcellos (25 August 1612), afterwards Grand Master and Prince of these Islands. Geronimo Mercader, one of the few foreign knights admitted into the English Tongue, was a Catalan, inducted by Verdala «cum gratia de limitibus et legitimitate» (26 September 1683) and Wysse was intrusted with his investiture (1). Andrew Wysse, already referred to, entered the Order under Roman influence. He fraternized with the Spaniard Mendoça, with whom he subsequently travelled to Naples and Spain, and he owed to Spanish influence and protection his pension of one thousand ducats drawn from the Priory of Castile (2).

Under these circumstances it will not be surprising to find that the Fleet of the Order, on its way back from the coasts of Africa, though reduced in strength, owing to the spoliation of the property and means of the Order in England (3), compelled an English vessel to get into the

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(1) Vol. 444 f. 143. M.P.L.

(2) Wysse's admission into the Tongue was subject to an agreemant made by him with Sir Oliver Starkey and Sir James Shelley not to aspire to the dignities of the English Tongue before them. He was accordingly given the habit, the girdle and sword, by Shelley, in the church of St. Catherine in Valletta, on the 19th. May 1582 (Vol. 182 f. 64). Wysse was granted (15 September 1583) an allowance of 210 scudi a year by order of the General Chapter of the Order: (Vol. 441 fol. 193). In 1598 he obtained nomination to the Commandery of Maruggi in the Langue of Italy. The Italian Knights, however, raised objections to his appointment, and on the 11th. April 1598 the Langue appointed procurators *ad lites* (Vol. 2127. Delib. Linguae d'Italia anni 1596-1636).

Dal Pozzo, Historia della S. R. Malta, v. I. p. 347 qualifies Wysse in 1593 as a «turbulent knight». The Council Registers record, on 25 February 1594 his punishment to 3 months imprisonment for disrespect towards Grand Master Verdala and his being condemned to ask his pardon.

(3) Grand Master Homedes on this account reduced the Order's fleet by the disarmament of the *Gran Carracca*.

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harbour and to be subjected to a regular perquisition, on the ground that it had refused to declare its nationality. English vessels were at that time suspected of favouring the enemies of the Christians and of furnishing them with arms and ammunition in contravention of the Papal prescriptions. However, as soon as the incident became known, orders came from Rome for the immediate release of the vessel (1). It would appear that the Knights in this instance wanted to favour their own correligionaries in the Anglo-Spanish conflict rather than pay due regard to the Papal orders. Barely one year after this incident, Geronimo Avogadro, Bali of St. Stephen, and Captain General of the Galleys, was instructed to surprise three English men-of-war cruising in the waters between Lampedusa and Tripoli, to search them, fight them, if they offered resistance, and to bring them into harbour, should they be found with contraband on board (2). The Council decided that English privateers were to be searched should they appear to be bent on damaging Christian pro-

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(1) Vol. 182 f. 79. (4 July 1582).

(2) Vol. 441 L. B. 1583-4 f. 244 «Hosplis. Magr. et Consilium Hierlm. Istructioni a voi vendo, religioso ñro fra Hieronimo Avogadro baglio di Sto. Stefano et capitan gnale di quello avrete a fare nel pñte viaggio per barberia che N. S. Iddio vi conduca e riduca a salvamento

Et primo Partirete di questo nro. porto con le quattro galere di nra. Religione la volta di la Lampadusa dove piglierete la volta verso il secco di beito e di la con parer delli capitani et marinari procurerete andar a far scoprir una notte la agina l'altra notte la cantara per saper se li vascelli che abbiamo nova carrigano la per levante siano di partenza, et trovandoli che siano carrighi et di partenza vi allargerete tenendovi su le volte aspettandoli per combatterli et pigliarli procurando non esser scoperti di terra.

Item se per caso come molte volte accade se scoprisse qualche arabo non ci darete caccia se non siete sicuro di non esser discoperto da detto arabo et certo pigliarlo et allora manderete una galera sola perchè s'accasso s'avesse de scoprir di terra non si veda che un vascello, et quando occorrerà far l'acquata andare a farla a Lampadusa ovvero qua avvertendo sparagnar detta acquata et la panatica quanto sarà possibile.

E perchè a la torre di malgranier si trova una nave inglese la quale di notte et di giorno si potria pigliar sopra il ferro non pro-

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perty or Christian vessels (1). The French Knights even suggested reprisals, but their advice, was not followed. They were particularly indignant because two of their brethren had been set upon and plundered by eight English vessels near Corsica (2). A Venetian boat suspected of carrying arms and ammunition to the English, who favoured Philip V's rebels in the Netherlands, was detained in Malta and was only released after much correspondence (3).

Whatever may have been the mind of the Order, these proceedings fell in with the views of Philip II, who aimed at annoying and weakening the power which he intended to crush with his great Armada. Sixtus V. sympathised with Philip's views. At his request he raised to the Cardinalate (7 August 1587) the indefatigable William Allen, founder of the English Colleges at Douay (4), Rome and Valladolid.

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curerete pigliarla per non romper il nostro disegno, ma trovandola alla vela et che non volesse amaynar et darvi obedienza, la combattirete et piglierete come vascello di nemici, et il medezimo farete trovando altri duoi vascelli de inglesi che ce nova sono in Tripoli provedendo non sian saccheggiati per potere rendere conto in caso di restitutione, et dandovi l'obedienza et troũando sopra roba di contrabando le menerete qua:....Datum Melite Die quarta mensis Maii 1583.

(1) Vol. 96 f. 111.

(2) Vol. 6389 «XIV. Scritture di Stato» ff. 42. 43 P.R.M.

(3) Ms. 226 Micallef, Vita Verdala f. 184.

(4) With reference to the foundation of this college it may be of interest to note that at the death of John Sandilands, at the time a deserter from the Order of Malta though styled Lord St. John, the Scotch Catholics resident in Rome claimed 10,000 scudi belonging to this once professed knight and due to his estate by certain merchants in Antwerp.—Their petition was referred to the Grand Master, and Bosio, his agent, opposed it.

The Scottish petition runs «Pro Seminario Duacensi – In Scotia mortuus est Joannes Sandelans Eques Melitensis scotus publicus ac notorius haereticus: qui fertur in manibus mercatorum Antverpiae et alibi, ad decem aureorum millia reliquisse. Quare supplicat humillime Sti. V. Scotorum natio, ut pro sedis Apostolicae auctoritate, haec bona fundando Seminario Duacensi, applicentur. Rogabunt omnes Divinam Majestatem, ut Vram. Bnem. diu suae servet Ecclesiae incolumen».

On this subject on the 10th. September 1593 Jacopo Bosio wrote. «La natione degli scozzesi qui di Roma diede a S. S. la settimana

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Allen was apparently marked out for the role of a second Cardinal Pole in the expected restoration of the Catholic Faith in England. On the 18th. December of the same year the Pope similarly bestowed a Cardinal's hat on Hugue De Loubens Verdala, the Grand Master Prince of this Island, who had been called to Rome since the 28th. April of that year.

Of course we know nothing about any possible connection between Verdala's elevation to the Cardinalate and the affairs of England. (1) When Verdala, returned from Rome the Armada had already failed in its object, but Allen's frienship with Verdala is evinced in the admission of Edward Crisp (2) on Allen's recommendation into the Tongue of England (4 July 1589). Wysse now Bailiff of Eagle while on his way to Spain gave Crisp the investiture (3).

The advent of the son of Mary Stuart to the English Throne raised for a while vain h pes, which brought about (24 November 1607) the release of certain Englishmen who were being detained in Gozo on the charge of having caused damage to the vessels of the Order and of having displayed a false ensign (4). Next, Francois de Voisin, a servant-at-arms of the Order, whilst in command of a «Petacchio» armed by certain knights, seized (24. December 1607) several

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passata un memoriale dimandandole 'o spoglio di un cavre. della Religione di V. S. Illma. sotto pretesto che do. cave. sia morto heretico al quale memoriale ho fatto la risposta che ella vedrà per la copia e l ho data all'Illmo. Cardle Lancellotti perchè ne faceva relatione et sebben questo memoriale è favorito dai padri del Gesù tengo non di meno per favore che S. Sta non farà pregiuditio alla Religione». Vol 6425 f 1.—

(1) Sixtus V.'s brief addressed to Verdala calling him to Rome on the 28th April 1587 does not say more than: «Cupimus te coram videre, tecumque agere nonnullis de rebus quae magnopere pertinebunt ad tuam Religionem atque ordinem, sanctae fidei hostium acatholicorum cervicibus depellendorum insequendorum delendorum causa institutum».

(2) Vol. 444. L.B 1588 89 f. 20 . He was admitted amongst the *fratres milites obedientiae.*

(3) Vol. 445 f. 223.

(4) Vol. 101 f. 40-24. April 1604 and f. 55-24. Nov 1604.

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Turks and the cargo belonging to them from on board an English vessel. His action was contested and the matter was referred to the Pope for decision (1). A third incident is likewise amicably solved. A vessel with forty Englishmen on board entered our Port. On their declaration that they had fled from captivity on the ship in question which was lying at the Goletta (Tunis) ready for a privateering cruise, they were granted a passaport and a clean bill (3rd. January 1609) (2).

But at the rupture of Anglo-Spanish relations, when the negociations for the Prince of Wales' marriage were broken off, (1623 24) and even, more, on the landing of the English at Cadiz, in 1625, steps were taken in Malta to prepare for defence (3). During hostilities between England and Spain, English vessels armed for warfare were, in compliance with the suggestions of the Spanish Court (4), denied entrance into any of the harbours of the island. (27 April 1656) (5). Very likely in consequence of this measure, English vessels refused to salute the vessels of the Order according to the custom then followed by the ships of friendly nations. Minutes of a

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(1) Vol. 102 L. C. 1606-8 f. 86.

(2) Vol 103 L C, 1608-10 f. 43. They alleged that the boat was kept in readiness at the Golletta to sail and hamper Christian property on sea:—«navigandi a pyratica exercendum contra Xpianos per Turcas, Mauros et Anglos adunitos et confederatos, qui antea quamplurima damna et depredationes de navigiis rebus et personis Xristianorum in captivitate ductorum perpetraverant».

(3) Vol. 102 L. C. 1625 f 317.—16. Jannary 1625.

(4) Vol. 259 f. 163. When in 1655 the Order denied entered into Port to Louis XIV,s fleet that sovereign acquieshed on the understanding that similar treatment would be dealt out to the other beligerents. (Vol 1200 ff. 443-44 Letter dated 14 June 1655).

(5) Vol. 259 L. C. S. 1651-56 f. 166. On the 7th November of the year 1636 an obligation is registered among the deeds of notary L. Grima of a certain Englishman by name Henry Esty or Anstay, lame of the left leg and condemned to imprisonment by the Malta Papal Inquisitor —to serve without pay for three years the Order after the term of imprisonment was over in the capacity of bombardier, soldier or seaman on a galley or on land—Vol. 737 «Contratti C. Tesoro» f. 76

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Council of State held by the Knights on the 6th. June 1659 record the instructions given to the Admiral of the Galleys on his complaint that four English war-ships had refused to salute the Flag of the Order. The galleys had to conform to whatever course the English war vessels would adopt they were not to try to coerce them to pay the usual salute (1).

At that time the Knights' sphere of action was not restricted to the defence of the Island of Malta. The flag of the Order flew even on the high seas, as its domain had been extended to the Leeward Islands. In 1651-65 the Order entered into the possessions of the French West India Company in St. Kitts, Sancta Cruz and St Bartolomew and in one-half of the Island of St Martins'. Philip de Lanuillier Poincy, a regularly professed Knight of Malta, was Governor of the West India islands for the French Crown and he had urged the Order to those acquire Isles (2). The Balì Jacques de Souvré, the Knights' Ambassador to the French Court, signed a contract, on behalf of the Order, on the 21st May 1651, whereby the West India Company ceded to the Knights all rights vested in them by Royal Letters Patent dated March 1642 (3). King Louis XIV ratified the transaction by other letters patent dated March 1653. St. Cristopher, or St Kitts, as it was more commonly called, had long before been amicably divided between the English and French residents and war between the two nations did not necessarily imply war between those respective subjects (4). Anyhow, the

(1) Vol. 260, L. C. S. an. 1657-63 f. 59—6 June 1659.

(2) Poincy gives in a letter, 23rd. September 1653, a summary idea of that domain. A description of his Palace and a rough design of the repartition of the Island of St. Kitts is likewise preserved in Vol 6402. P. R. M. An inventory of the estate left by the said Balì drawn by his successor on the domain, the Knight Charles de Sales, in 1660 is to be seen amongst the contracts of the Treasury of the Order Vol 742 ff. 148-58.

(3) Deed drawn by notaries Vaulties and Parque in Paris. *see* Vol. 258 L. C. S. 1645-50 f. 204; Vol. 259 L. C. S. 1651-56 ff. 17, 21. 22, 72t.

(4) C. P. Lucas, British Colonies. Oxford 1890 pp. 53 and 135.

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Knights' hold on the above islands lasted only till the French West India Company had acquired a better legal footing. The Order, pressed by Louis XIV, handed back to the Company its newly acquired dominions for half-a-million francs. The deed was entered into at Paris, on the 7th. March 1664, by the titular Prior of England Stefano M. Lomellini specially empowered for the purpose (1). When, therefore, a state of war between France and England was notified to the Order on the 22 March 1675 (2) and when St. Kitts was, at the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, ceded to Great Britain, the Order's ensign (3) had long since disappeared from those parts.

The situation did not become less strained when perquisitions had to be enforced on English and Dutch vessels (4). Admiral William Penn claimed restitution of certain Turks and their merchandize which had been taken by the Knights from on board English vessels. By way of retaliation for this capture, Samuel Boothoule, English Consul at Tunis, was imprisoned by the Tunisians and all his property confiscated. Penn threatened the wrath of England and demanded that the Order should abstain from further similar proceedings (29 June 1651) (5). The

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(1) Vol. 261. L. C. S. 1664-1672 ff. 16, 29-31; 40.

(2) Vol. 1776 f. 333.

(3) Vol. 475 L. B. 1652-4 f. 152; Vol. 260 L. C. S. f. 75.

(4) Vol. 259 L.C S. 1651-6 ff. 5t and 7t.—13 May and 23 July 1651

(5) Ms. 929 f, 178 Letter dated 29 June 1651.—«Most Eminent Sire,—Not long since my occasions drawing mee to the Golletta of Tunis, I there found the Consull of our nation and his estate under imprisonment and sequestration; by reason of the captivity of some Turks and their Goods, taken by your squadron of Galleys, out of a small ship of ours, on the 16th. of Aprill last past. And conceiving that the Jerusalomitan Order intends not (by any hostile act) to prejudice our nation, or infringe the Amity which hath been and is betwixt them; I doe 'by this bearer the said Consul, who comes express to your Eminence with all possible effect recommend the restitution of those Turkes and goods, which (now having traffique with them) must necessarily transport; And if by means of such necessity our Merchants should bee subject to such deep incoveniences, what Resentment the State of England may thereuppon make, I cannot conclude. But I will hope that all damage and prejudice, may be prevented by

Knights however were obdurate. Boothoule subsequently came to Malta to negociate for the ransom of more than 30 slaves on whom the price of 40,000 pieces of eight reals of Spain was set (1). The Barbary States had adopted as a system of reprisals against the operations of the Order the imprisonment of Europeans residing in their states and the confiscation of their property. The Capuchin Missioners in Tripoli were on several occasions subjected to these vexatious practices.

Another capture effected later on by the Knights of certain goods belonging to Rogier Fowke or Foroke from on board a privateer, induced Charles II to threaten reprisals (Whitehall 29 April 1668) unless 4500 dollars were paid for alleged damages suffered by the said Fowke, who held the post of English Consul at Cyprus. The Order, through its special envoy in London, pointed out that the capture had been considered a good prize by the Tribunal of Armaments; that Fowke had not availed himself of the legal means afforded by the code to appeal against the capture and to obtain justice; and that in any case, the Order could not interfere between the parties at issue nor be held responsible in the matter (2).

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the Goodnesse, wisdome, and prudence of your Eminency.

To whom wishing Encrease of all splendor and greatnesse, I remaine—Most Eminent Sire, Your very humble servant—Wm. Penne —Aboard the State of England —their Admirall Shipp the Fairfax— this 29th Junii 1651,—Stilo Antiquo.— Ms. 929 Doc. 178.

(1) Vol. 259 f. 15.

(2) Ms. 929 f. 27; Vol. 1211, L. C. S. an. 1664-71 ff. 123 and 124 Letters dated 18 February 1669 and 1 st. September 1669 in Vol. 1209 «*Codex* Latinarum Epistolarum»: shows that the idea of reprisals had dropped. «Serme. Mti. Vrae ea approbatum iri rationum momenta, quae superioribus meis litteris circa negotium Rogerii fouke humiliter veraciterque suggesseram; ac subinde praedictum Rogerium, (praetermisso severiori nimiumque intempestivo represaliarum litterarum remedio, ad supremum istius audientiae tribunal.... pro vindicatis sibi ut asserit ..... Mtem. Vram. benigne annuisse».

The first letter on the subject by the Grand Master dates the 17th. August 1665. «Seren.mae M.tis V.re accepi literas ea cum ve-

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Charles did not hold good those reasonings and spoke out his mind in his letter to Grand Master Cotoner (1); and the

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neratione, quam regiae sue persone dignitas,...postulabant. In quantum vero res et negotia Rogerii fowke nationis Britannicae in insula Cypro Consulis Ser me M.is V.re subditi spectat, preteritis annis decisas fuisse in armentorum tribunali e quatuor magnae crucis Religionis meae proceribus et iurisdoctore composito hactenus intellexi: et probabile videtur non sine libratis utriusque partis ratione ponderibus et momentis... sententiam pronuntiasse»

(1) «Carolus... Ill.me et Cels.me... Aliquot jam elapsi sunt anni ex quo primum ad celsitudinem vestram scriptae sunt a Nobis literae de rebus mercibusque ad valorem usque quatuor mille et quingentorum thalerorum de octo, a navibus .... parum voluisse literas Nostras. .. Adeoque, id idem suadente Concilio Nostro Secretiore tam querelas subditi Nostri, tum literas quas ipsi ad C. V. priores misimus, quasque V. C. nuper rescripserit ad advocatum in suprema Nostrae Admiralitatis Curia, Robertum Wyseman equitem propere deferendas curavimus: qui .. exposuit.— Supplices chartas Rogeri Fowke Maies tis V. mandato speciali ad me transmissas, literasq tam a Maies te V. ad Magnum Ordinis Melitensis Magistrum in dicti viri gratiam scriptas, tum quas dictus Magister rescripserit perlegi, serioq, perpendi. Cumque mihi perspectum sit M.tem V. hac in re eousque dudum processisse, ut examine mature habito, M.ti V. plene jam constet, sententiam ad tribunal Melitense contra dictum Rogerum Fowke plane contra jus fasq. latam fuisse, (prout ex M.tis V. literis ad dictum Magistrum scriptis clarius apparet), videtur mihi nihil jam incumbere quam ut M.ti V. Dominisq ad secretiora sua Consilia admissis exponerem, An per Magni Magistri literas Mas ti V. restitutionem per literas suas praedictas postulanti satisfactum sentiam tum An Mas.ti Vestrae propterea licere possit literas quas aiunt Repressaliarum concedere. Qua de re hanc meam sententiam Mas.tis V. dictorumque Dominorum summae prudentiae et judicio quam humillime offero; nimirum, Magni Magistri responsum tantum quidem abesse, ne Mas ti V. quovis modo possit satisfacere, ut ex eo potius facile perspici possit, supramemoratum Magistrum damnorum reparationem dicto Rogero illatorum utcumque non disertis verbis denegasse, de ea tamen nihil prorsus certum apud se statuere, quam vel ea ratione Maj.tas V. jure posset negatam interpretare: neque ad sui defensionem prodest affirmasse, id omne quod pro tribunali suo transactum est solemni sententia fuisse peractum, fuisse iudices viros quidem Magni nominis, veriq simile esse rationes utrinq adductas justa aestimatione libratas fuisse; Nam authoritas judicantis non idem in exteros quod in subditos valet; subditis nequaquam licet sententias a superioribus lata ad examen revocare quod tamen Principibus esteris integrum relictum est; ubi

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Knights appealed to the French Sovereign to assist them against the demands of the English Admiralty court (1).

It would not have been easy to foretell what such frequent incidents would have led to had not the Court of St. James seen that its interests would have been better consulted if friendly relations were cultivated with this little principality placed by nature right in the middle of a sea, which was being now frequently resorted to by English vessels. Thomas Allen, commanding a naval force sent to protect the freedom of English subjects navigating and trading in the Mediterranean, presented himself to the Grand Master with commendatory letters from his sovereign Charles II, with the object of being able, if necessary, to obtain provisions, safe-conduct and any other possible facilities in Malta. When occasion did arise every assistance was in effect granted to the Royal vessels commanded by Captain Francis Digby, and the Grand Master hastened to inform the King accordingly (24th November 1668) (2). The Earl of Winchelsea, British

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id aut ipsorum aut subditorum interierit: Alias enim, si latae sententiae nationes Repressaliis eximerent, ejusmodi decreta in quovis casu vel de manifesta iniuria obtineri forte possent, ideoq inter omnes convenit justam esse Repressaliarum causam, non solum ubi jus omnino non redditur, verum etiam si in re minime dubia plane contra jus judicatum sit, in dubia quidem re praesumptio est pro his qui ad judicia publice electi sunt. Si Maj.ti V. indicasset Magnus ille Ordinis Melitensis Magister potuisse dictum Rogerum Fowke de sententia contra se lata ad superius ad huc tribunal provocare, ea quidem dicti Rogeri incuria prior sententia in tantum stabilita fuisset ut sublata prosus esset illa quae a Maj.te V. hodie exposcitur, Remedii methodus; provocationis autem ejusmodi nul'am mentionem fecit supramemoratus Magister; Proptereaque sentio quidem ego nihil quicquam in gentium jure impedire, quo minus hoc casu Maj.ti V. liceat Repressaliarum literas modo quo expetuntur concedere. — Robertus Wyseman.— . . .Ms. 929 ff. 13 and 14; Vol. 261 f. 123.

(1) Vol. 6425 f. 245.

(2) Vol. 6425 f. 277; Vol. 1209 « Invictissime Rex—Unus et alter intercessit dies, cum hic appulit una earum navium quas Ser.ma M.as Vra. ad tuendam in hoc mediterraneo mari subditorum suorum navigationi et commercii libertatem emisit. E cujus navis praefecto dno

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Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, on his way back to London, could reassure his Sovereign of the friendly disposition of the Knights, who paid him their compliments in the Garden of Sarria at Floriana, the place assigned to him to perform quarantine during his stay at Malta (15 April 1669) (1). All of which circumstances helped to close the protracted disputes about Fowke's case and to provoke a royal declaration of satisfaction at the reasons adduced in justification thereof.

On the 28th. November 1670, Charles asked Grand Master Nicholas Cotoner to give every assistance to Rudolph Montague, the Queen's Equerry, who had been sent to recover the guns and other property of H. M. S. «Sapphyr» wrecked on the coasts of Sicily (2). In another letter, dated 19th. February 1673, Charles informs Cotoner of his intention to keep an English Squadron permanently in

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franco Digby oretenus referente primum, mox vero et maxime ex benignissimis Ser.me M.tis V.re litteris percepi optare eam quam plurimum ut huic classi tutus facilisque ad has insulas permittatur appulsus, eaque demum coetera concedantur quae ex illius usu esse contigerint....»

(1) Vol. 261 L. C. S. 1664-71 fol. 132.

(2) Charles II. to the Grand Master N. Cottoner, 28 November 1670. «Iam dudum ad aures Eminentiae Vestrae pervenisse credimus navem quandam bellicam de Regia Nostra classe Sappheri nomine insignitam aliquot abhinc mensibus ad oras Siciliae brevibus allisam fuisse adeoque conquassatam ut navigationi prorsus inutilis fieret; Nonnulla tamen dictae navis tormenta ad insulam Melitam allata esse ibidemque servari intelleximus. Cum igitur dilecto et fedeli Nostro Radulpho Mountague Ser.me Conjugis Nostrae magistro equorum Nostroque apud regem christianissimum Legato mandaverimus, ut homines idoneos eo mittat qui supradicti naufragii reliquias conquirant et ad meliorem usum Nostrum disponant, Emin.tiam V.ram amice rogamus ut authoritatem Suam velit interponere, quo dicti homines a Legato Nostro missi aut mittendi nec mora nec impedimentis innectantur, quin potius ut omnem favorem debitumque adiumentum apud singulos armentariorum, Portuum ac teloniorum praefectos, caeterosque ad quos spectaverit officiales reperiant. Quod Nos pari vel alio casu Em.tiae Vestrae cumulate referri curabimus.... Datum in Palatio Nostro de Whitehall 28vo. Novembris 1670.— Em.tie V.re— Bonus consanguineus et amicus —Carolus R.—(Vol. 1207—leaves unnumbered).

the Mediterranean. For this purpose he had caused two men-of-war to be built, one at Genoa and the other at Leghorn, and as he wished them to be manned by slaves bought in Malta, he asks to be afforded the same privileges enjoyed by his allies, the Kings of France and Spain, viz: exemption from payment of any export dues (1). Later, on

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(1) Carolus secundus Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Rex, Fideique Defensor illustr.mo et celsissimo principi Dño Nicolao Cottoner, Magno Ordinis Melitensis Magistro, consanguineo et amico nostro charissimo, salutem.

Cum non solum et re nostra sed orbis christiani interesse Nobis videretur, si certum triremium numerum et ipsi in Mari Mediterraneo paratum teneremus, uti praesens vicinorum omnium et confederatorum Nostrorum contra frequentes Barbarorum et Turcarum insultus praesidium; Duos ideo triremes, unam Genuae, alteram in portu Liburno, construi nuper fecimus, qua ut actoribus et remigibus instruerentur negotiatorem rerum istiusmodi peritum cum in alias partes tum in Insulam Meliten Celsitudinis Vestrae imperio subjacentem, ad emenda mancipia et servitia comparanda mitti curavimus. Qui cum ibi locorum servos quosdam coemisset, Nobis renuntiatum est teloniorum celsitudinis vestre collectores in singula capita vigintiquinque aurea, nummi melitenses, exegisse, priusquam navibus imponerent idque vecticalis nomine: Quam sane rem admodum mirati sumus, cum nobis nova et praeter morem facta videatur, praesertim cum nobis compertum sit vicinos et confederatos nostros Galliarum et Hispaniarum Reges pro mancipiis quae ab insula vestra transportari quotannis procurant nihil omnino vectigalis nomine, dependere. Rogatam itaque celsitudinem Vestram habere volumus, uti pro bona et diuturna, quae est inter nos, necessitudine, idem Nobis in territoriis celsitudinis vestrae circa hoc commercii genus liceat, quod vicinis et confederatis utriusque Nostrum intro eadem facere licebit. Quod etiamsi amicitiae solummodo quae nobis intercedit, et Nostro precipue in celsitudinem vestram preclarumque Ordinem Melitensium universum affectui tribuendum esset, eo tamen id animo accipiemus ut si quando Celsitudini Vestrae in re quavis gratum facere possimus id omne ..... Dabantur apud Palatium nostrum Westmonasteriense duodecimo die Februarii anno domini millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo tertio, regnique nostri, vigesimo quinto — Cels.is Vestrae - Bonus consanguineus et amicus—Carolus R. [Original in Vol. 1207 unnumbered]. Porter, History of the Knights of Malta, Edit. 1883, gives a translation of this letter at page 33.

The Grand Master answered with the following: Ser.me et Invictis.me Rex...Si ii ad me precipue pertinerent aureorum nummi, qui solent

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the 30th November 1674, Charles recommends his Admiral to the Grand Master asking that he should be given all necessary facilities to obtain foodstuffs and provisions. This request was evidently complied with, as appears from Charles' next letter, dated Whitehall 29th May 1675 (1).

The question of complimentary salutes now causes a temporary estrangement. Admiral John Narborough, commanding the British expedition against Tripoli, (2) on 22nd. March 1675, entered the Malta harbour, on board the «Henrietta», in the company of two other men-of-war. He returned on the 21st. October at the head of five other vessels. The ships flew the Blue Ensign on their main-mast, but although they did not salute the Maltese Standard, they claimed a salute from the shore (3). The Grand Master forwarded

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ex iis exigi mancipiis, quae interdum contigit ex hac insula exportari, nequaquam jure uti huiusmodi sustinuissem circa illa ipsa, quae nuper Ser.mae M.is V.rae nomine comparata fuerunt nec commisissem profecto ut pro tenui adeo pecunia mei erga tantum Regem et Dnum deque meo ordine benemeritum, officii vel gratitudinis potuissem quoquo modo admoneri. Quare acceptis Ser.me M.is V.rae ea super re benignissimis litteris magnopere miratus sum eo quod renuntiatum ipsi fuisse veluti praefati aureorum numni vectigalis nomine simpliciter et integre comparentur Cum tamen notum sit et ratum eas ipsas pecunias ferme totas sacris quibusdam locis ex antiquo more distribui vel in lucrum cadere quarundam paupercularum personarum; quibuscum non parum inde presidii ad vitae sustentationem procedat ex officio boni principis me non facturum et forte etiam contra mentem piissimam M tis V.re Ser.me existimassem si talia per me loca et personae eo qualicumque praesidio nulla cogente necessitate nulloque impellenti caruissent». He goes on to say that the Spanish Monarch had never bought slaves and that such tolls were only recently remitted to the French King under great pressure. Vol. 1209 Codex latinarum epistolarum, *ann:* 1638-75 *leaves unnumbered.*

(1) Original letter in vol. 1207 P. R. M.

(2) Narborough had been appointed, on the 18th. October 1674, to command the squadron sent for the purpose of restraining the piratical depradations of the states of Tripoli and Algiers. He returned to Portsmouth with his fleet on the 10th. of June 1679. He died in 1688.

(3) «Most Eminent S.r— After the tender of my humble service with my hearty thanks for the manifold favours voutchsafed unto

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his remonstrances against these pretensions to the proper quarter and Charles, glossing over the Admiral's conduct, promised that his Admirals would in future salute Malta as practised by French and Spanish vessels (1). On receiving this assurance a salute of 30 petards and 6 pieces of ordnance. was given the Admiral on his return from Tripoli at the head of six men-of-war (6th April 1676) (2). This act of courtesy coincided with the conclusion of peace with Tripoli, when seventy Maltese subjects including the Knight Charles de Granche Pudieu, who had been languishing in slavery in that Regency, were set free through Narborough's mediation

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my Master the King of Great Brittaine and for your Highnesse's extraordinary kidnesse manifested to my selfe.

And most eminent Sr. since your favour of Product, I have sent on shoare one of my Captains to waite upon your Highness with the presentment of this my greatfull letter and withall to certifie yo.r Emynency that I did and doe expect a salute to be given by yo r Highnesse, to my masters flagg (which I carry) correspondent to the salutes, which you give to the Flaggs of the King of Spain and the King of France, which are carried in the same place, it being the expectation of the King my Master. Formerly yo r Eminenca was pleased to make some scruple of my command as Admirall, which I humbly conceive vo.r Highnesse is fully satisfied in, since you received the last letter from the King of Great Brittaine. Sr. I have since my arrivall at yo.r Port often emp'oyed Mr. consul disclaus to waite upon yo.r Highness concerning the saluts, but have not received any satisfactory answer thereunto, which I now humbly desire may be returned unto mee by my officer and withall that yo.r Eminency will be pleased to honour me with yo r comands wherein I may serve you which shall be most chearffully imbraced and readily performed by—Most eminent S.r—yo r Highnesse's most humble and faithfull servant — on board his Ma.ts ship Henrietta. Malta October 17: 1675 —John Narbrough».—Ms. 929 f. 24—M. P. L. This letter was submitted to the General Council on the 28th. October following when it was decided that the Admiral should first salute.

(1) The originals of both these letters are in Vol. 1207 P. R. M.

(2) Henry Tonge, Chaplain on H. M. S. *Assistance* one of Narborough's squadron, speaks highly of the reception accorded to the British ships in his *Diary* published in London in 1825.—pp. 137-9. *See* Vol. 1776 f. 340. P. R. M.

Admiral Arthur Herbert entered the Harbour with three men-of-war carrying the Royal Standard on the 24th November 1682. He received a salute of 40 petards and 26 guns.—Vol. 1776 Ivi.

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and returned to Malta (1). Cotoner now earnestly solicited Charles' good offices to set free the German knight John Robert von Stäel who had fallen into the hands of the Algerians. Charles expressed the hope of obtaining the knight's freedom as soon as the fortunes of war would allow (2).

It was of no rare occurrence for knights to fall captives and to be enslaved in the Barbary States or in Turkey, just as subjects of high rank belonging to those countries, when at grips with the galleys of the Order, occasionally fell into captivity and were brought to Malta as slaves (3) The Knights by their profession were to wage war against

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(1) Charles in reply to the Grand Master's thanks pays him the compliment «opere pretium satis amplum fuisse crederemus, tot viros fide ac fortitudine per Orbem christianum et infedelem celebres e Barbarorum manibus et vinculis extractos domum reduxisse». Vol. 1207 (Corrispondenza del 1639-1678). Letter dated 21st. October 1676. P. R. M.

(2) *Ibi.* «Carolus secundus... Gratiae quas Em.tia V.ra per literas suas 15to. die Augusti superius elapsi scriptas Nobis reddidit de quinquaginta Religionis Tuae equitibus [more properly: one knight and 70 maltese subjects] a barbarorum servitute Nostra ope liberatis, vix Nobis acceptiores esse potuerunt, quam preces quas in iisdem literis subjunxit de altero Sacrae Militiae Vestrae socio Joanne Roberto a Stäel germano ab Algeriana captivitate liberando. Nos equidem ne vel desiderio Em.tiae V.rae vel voluntate Nostra desse videamur, dilecto et fideli subdito nostro Joanni Narbrough equiti aurato classium praefecto mandaverimus ut si viribus Nostris divino auspicio fultis Algeri civitas ad aqua pacis et submissionis pacta redigatur conatus suos adhibeat quatenus res Nostrae ferre potuerunt, quo dictus Joannes Robertus a Stäel libertatem adipiscatur. Praefecti admirallii nostri fidem et industriam jam pridem novit Em.tia V.ra neque dubitamus quin mandatis Nostris in hac parte libenter ac strenue obptemperaturus sit... Datum in palatio Nostro de Whitehall 2.do die Novebris a. d. 1678.—Em tia V.re Bonus consanguineus et amicus – Carolus R.»

(3) As noteworthy instances the following may be mentioned: Osman, a child 30 months old, son of the Grand Sultan Ibraim, was captured on the 30th September 1644 on the high seas and brought with his mother to Malta. When grown up Osman became a Dominican. *See* vol. 6391 ff. 168 and 279 P. R. M. where the relative petition dated 20 May 1658 and signed by him as Domenico di S. Tomaso is still to be seen. — *Arch. Storico Siciliano.* La cattura

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the Turks and the Barbary Corsairs and to give whatever assistance they could to the enemies of their enemies. Thus we meet them in 1733 in company of Diego Talbot, an English captain in the Spanish service, withstanding the incursions of the Algierian pirates (1), and, in 1737, we find them helping Mahomet, the Bey of Susa, son of Assen ben Aly Bey of Tunis, to crush the Algierans who were hindering his trade with the English (2). Their institute, however, did not allow of any permanent friendly relations with Moslems.

In fact L'Isleadam, in 1531, had to seek the special permission of the Holy See for his people at Tripoli to trade with their Infidel neighbours. Some two hunderd years after negotiations for a truce with the Sublime Porte were initiated at the request of the Grand Vizir, Ibraim Pasha, through the good offices of the Marquis de Bonnac, French Ambassador at Constantinople. The offer was entertained by the Knights, subject to the approval of the Pope and of the other sovereign protectors of the Order (3). The

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del Galeone Gran Sultana. Vol. 22 pp. 138-47. Palermo 1897. Filamondo Genio Bellicoso di Napoli, Gregorio Caraffa, Napoli 1693 ff. 387-9. The Pope's Nuncio or Inquisitor, Mg r Gori Pannilini, in making reference to this boy, mentions that at the time there was with him another child, four years old, by name Mustafa, son of Zaffira, another of the Sultan's wives who had been killed in the struggle previous to the ship's capture. *Arch. St. Italiano sess. V. vol. 41 p. 63.*—De Hammer, Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman, Paris 1837 pp. 78 79 holds that Osman was not the Sultan's son. Another noteworthy prisoner is Mahmed Bin Thesi son of the Sultan of Morocco who was captured in 1657 from on board an English boat and brought to Malta. He was afterwards baptized and given the names of Baldassare Diego and in due time became a Jesuit. *Aquillera*, Provinciae siculae S. J. res gestae p. 883.—A third case is that of Mustafa Pasha of Rhodes, who was brought captive to Malta and who engineered a conspiracy among the slaves to seize Malta for the Turks in 1749— M. Acciardi. Mustafà Bassà di Rodi schiavo in Malta Napoli 1751.

(1) Vol. 269, L. C. S. 1733-45 f. 5.

(2) Ibi ff. 68-72 The Bey's proposed alliance is registered in the Council books, 10th May and 18th June 1737; Vol. 6392, Lib. XX Scritture Libri Stato.

(3) The Knight Joseph de la Val was in fact sent on a mission to announce to the European Courts the proposed treaty.

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Grand Master and Council gave their assent exclusively on the plea that by such truce the Christian captives groaning under the Infidels would be set free. But European armaments and political complications prevented the final settlement of the proposed treaty (1). Still later on, in 1784, Spain pledged itself, in a secret article of its Treaty of Peace with the Sultan, to induce Malta to agree to a truce with the Ottoman Empire (2). In 1796 the Spanish Minister, Prince de la Paz, insisted on the same subject in his letters, submitted to the Council of the Order on the 28th. February and 31st. July (3), but with no good result.

James II adopted Charles' friendly attitude towards the Knights, and good feeling between England and the Order grew apace though both parties were of course seeking to further their own particular interests. William Trumbull, James' Ambassador to the Sublime Porte, when at Malta on his way to Constantinople, tried to vindicate the rights of free commerce for the English, complaining of a pretended unlawful capture detained in the Port of Malta (4). It would ap-

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(1) Vol. 266 L.C.S. 1717-24 ff. 194 and 228; Vol. 1202 ff. 156 to 180 and vol. 6393.

(2) Memorie Zondadari Vol. VI. Letter to H. H. Secretary of State dated 3rd April 1784. *Inquisitor Arch.* Malta, Archbishop's Palace.

(3) Vol. 275 L. C. S. 1796-98 ff. 24 and 278.

(4) On the 13th December 1686 James from Whitehall addressed to Grand Master Caraffa the following remonstrance: «Cum accepimus Navis cujusdam piratae ad bellum instructae praefectum de Fleury nominatum, mensis proxime praeteriti die septimo Portum intrasse Melitensem, Diploma sive Commissionem a Polorum Rege, istiusque Nationis vexillum prae se ferentem, ac duas secum habentem *Naves Anglicas* quarum altera Benjamin et Franciscus, altera in qua octaginta erant Turcae, *Jerusalem* dicta est, easdemque Naves piraticae ab eo captas, atque in Portum istum abductas, ibidem adhuc detineri: Cels.ni V.rae significandum duximus Naves has cum ad subditos nostros pertineant nullatenus captioni istiusmodi obnoxias esse potuisse, nec Turcas aliosve quoslibet homines, qui sub protectione Nostra in subditorum nostrorum essent navibus, inde auferri debuisse. Ideoque Celsñi Vestre aequum

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pear that Admiralty rules and customs were often subject to interpretation. An English vessel with 148 Moors on board called at this Port, its papers having been certified to on 20th. September 1699 by Admiral Aylmer. The vessel was detained on the plea that by a subsequent Admiralty order (6th. June 1700) the ship's papers ought to have been renewed. Eventually the boat was released by the Knights' tribunal on the ground that the Captain and the Consuls on the Barbary coasts had not been in a position to carry out the later Admiralty order. (1).

The frequent use of the harbour of Malta by English ships, on the re-establishment of good relations, is evinced by the indication, on topographic charts, of the Calcara or Borgo creek as the creek reserved for the anchorage of English Ships «*Porto degli Inglesi*», in contradistinction to the name «*Seno dei Francesi*», given to the creek between Senglea and Corradino, used as anchorage by the French, then almost always at loggerheads with the English (2).

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omnino [uti confidimus] videbitur ut praedictae naves cum oneribus totoque ipsarum apparatu omniaque ad easdem pertinentia ac nautae aliique omnes qui in eisdem vel jam sunt vel captionis istius tempora erant, extemplo dimittantur nec non ut Turcae praedicti cum bonis suis omnibus ad ipsos pertinentibus in integrum restituantur ac ut ipsi itinera sua prosequi libere permittentur id quod a Cels.ne V.ra per presentes serio rogamus. Haec dicti de Fleury actio plane piratica est.» — *Original* in Vol. 1208 Correspondence an. 1639-1710 unnumbered where another despatch dated 10 January 1607 on the same subject is preserved.

(1) Vol. 6389 Miscellanea Stetus T. XIV. f. 6.

(2) *See*: Carte de Malte par A. Jaillot, Depalmens. Paris, 1752; another by Bellin 1762.—Voyage Pittoresque de Naples ecc tom. 4.° Paris 1786 f. 256 — Vertot, History of the Knights of Malta, London 1728, Vol. 2. plan attached to page 220.—

John Montague, 4th. earl of Sandwich says: «Within the fort of Ricasoli, at the extremity of a peninsula, is a long narrow port, called the Port of the English, because ships of that nation come there generally to an anchor» Voyage round the Mediterranean in 1738 and 1739. London 1799 pp. 514.

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The War of Succession and the Order.

The closer relations between the English and the Knights above referred to made it possible for the Order to steer a middle-course in the conflict between Spain and the Quadruple Alliance (England, France, the Netherlands and Austria) with regard to Sicily. (1) The Order depended from Sicily because of its tenure in fee of these islands and even more, because it drew from Sicily the provisions necessary for the subsistence of the inhabitants. The policy of the Knights at the time is clearly traced in a letter of Grand Master Perellos to Queen Anne, dated 31st. March 1713 (2). English armed ships, as a rule, were refused admittance to the Port of Valletta, but they were supplied with what they required in the bays round the coast. The sovereign of Great Britain expressed her

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(1) It should be noted that by the Treaty of Utrecht between Spain and England the Kingdom of Sicily was recognized as a separate Kingdom under Vittorio Amedeo of Savoy. In the Treaty between England and France the succession of the House of Hanover to the English Throne was similarly recognized.

(2) A la Reine d'Angleterre Anne—du 31 Mars 1713.— Madame. —J'ay appris avec un sensible chagrin par une lettre que S. M. C. m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire, et par celle que m'à écrite l'Admiral Jennings, que V. M. se plaignoit de la conduite que s'ay ténu dans cette deniére guerre. Je serois bien malheureux madame, si elle donnoit quelque croyance à des plaintes faites par gens où mal intentionnés, ou peu instruits de l'état des choses, les quels omettent ordinairement des circonstances qui changent entiérément les faits; surquoy J'auray l'honneur de dire à V. M. que de tout têms les grands Maitres mes Predecesseurs et l'ordre militaire dont Je suis presentement le chef, ont fait uniquement profession d'une guerre continuelle contre les infedeles et jamais ce meme ordre n'est entré directement, ni indirectement dans les guerres entre les Princes Chrêtiens et par consequent nous avons observé inviolablement dans tous les têms une neutralité de la quelle nous ne nous départirons jamais; mais comme Ie tiens à fief du Royaume de Sicile cette Isle; Je suis obligé d'observer les conditions sous les quelles, elle nous à été donnée, dont la principale est de ne recevoir dans nos ports aucun ennemi de la Couronne de Sicile: ce que nous avons observé dans tous les têms au preiudice même des françois, qui composent presque la moitié de mon ordre, lorsque cette nation s'est trouvée en guerre

self satisfied with this treatment (1). In that contingency the rival claimants to the Kingdom of Sicily advanced pretensions which clashed with the neutrality maintained by the Port of Malta and none of which could be complied with without offending the other parties.

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avec la Sicile : c'est ainsi que J'en ay usé avec les suiéts de V. M. pendant les derniers têms; Je dois même l'assûrer que l'en ay agi avec plus de circonspection envers eux, ayant fait dire aux bâtimens anglais armés en guerre [car pour les marchands on leur à toujours donné tout le qu'ils ont voulu] avant d'entrer dans ce port, que Je ne pouvois les y recevoir, mais que s'ils alloient dans des ports qui sont trés voisins, Je leurs donnerois tout ce qu'il leur seroit necessaire, ce qu'ils n'ont pas manqué de faire, quands ils ont reflechi aux ménagémens, et aux precautions que Je dois avoir avec la Sicile, pour la subsistance et pour le gouvernment de cette Isle et même quand le mauvais têms les à obligé d'entrer dans ce port, ils ont toujours en sous main leur besoins. Ce qui le Consul de la nation Angloise, qui est prefaitement instruit de tout ce que J'ay l'honneur de dire a V. M. et qui est trés zélé pour les interests, n'aura pas manqué d'en informer ses ministres, et quoy que Je sois trés persuadé que V. M. sera facîlement desabuse de tout ce qu'on pourroit luy-avoir representé au contraire; J'ay crû devoir l'informer moi même sur tout ce qui s'est passé, et assûrer en même têms V. M. de la attention que J'auray pendant la paix, où elle à tant contribué, d'entretenir la bonne correspondance dont V. M. vôudra bien m honorer De tout tems la nation Angloise s'est prevalùe de ce port, et les Admiraux et Ambassadeurs qui y ont p ssè ont receu les honneurs qui meritent les generaux et les ministres d'un si puissant et florissant Royaume et dans le têms de la guerre de Tripoly des flottes Angloises ne se sont servies que de ce port, où l'on leur à fourni toute sorte de munitions. Je souhaite que cette paix me procura quelques rencontres à pouvoir marquer à V. M. que Je n'ay par moins de zéle et de déférence pour tout ce qui à l'honneur de luy appartenir. Je m'assûre qu'elle me féra ensuite la justice d'être persuadée que Je ne saurois jamais manquer à ce que Je luy dois, et par consequent aux avantages de ses suiêts, que Je puis dire avoir favorisé en toutes occasions autant que Je l'ay pû. Je suis avec un extreme respect de V. M. le trés humble et tres obeissant serviteur le grand Me. de l'ordre militaire de Sr. Jean—Vol. 1561, «Lettres de G. M. Perellos 1705-1713». fol. 1093.

(1) «Anna Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae et Hiberniae Regina etc. Ilustrissimo et Celsissimo Principi Domino Raimundo Perellos Rocafullos, Magno Ordinis Melitensis Magistro Consanguineo

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It so happened that the crews of the galleys of Vittorio Amedeo of Savoy mutinied on the coasts of Malta; the Marchese di Rivarola, their Commander, in this plight, engaged 150 Maltese sailors to navigate his ships to Syracuse. Under the rules of neutrality, however, the Order had to forbid its subjects from embarking on the vessels of one of the belligerents. Rivarola, thus placed in the impossibility of moving out of Malta, was at the same time blockaded by Spanish vessels, just escaped from the disaster they suffered in Sicilian waters (1).

On the other hand the Spaniards, taking their clue from Rivarola, wanted to arm their vessels in the Harbour and insisted on the Order delivering up the galleys of Savoy as property belonging to their own Sovereign, Philip V. The Knights raised objections causing delay which gave time to seven English men-of-war, under George Byng (11th October 1718), to make their appearance. Escorted by Byng, Rivarola now withdrew to Syracuse with his galleys, and with a Maltese tartan which he had armed.

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et Amico Nostro Charissimo salutem. Illustrissime et Celsissime Princeps Consanguinee et Amice Charissime! Multa cum voluptate accepimus Celsitudinis Vestrae Literas 31 Martii datas quibus Vestra erga Nos subditosque Nostros voluntas ita perspecta est, ut nullus de hac re amplius dubitandi sit locus. Pro subsidiis quae, durante postremi hujus belli decursu, subditis Nostris ministravit Celsitudo Vestra gratias, ut par est, vobis agimus; nulli officio unquam defutura quo vobis patere possit, quanta in aestimatione Nobis est amicitia vestra et quanta benevolentia vos ac res vestras prosequimur. Quod superest Celsitudinem Vestram Dei optimi maximi tutelae ex animo commendamus. Dabantur in Palatio Nostro de Kensington Die octavo mensis Julii Anno Domini Millesimo Septingentesimo Decimo tertio,—Regnique Nostri duodecimo—Celsitudinis Vestrae— Bona Consanguinea et Amica —Anne R.»—*Original* in Ms. 929 f. 32. M.P.L.; Copy in Vol. 266 L.C.S. 1709-16 f. 296 under the date 13th. March 1714 - P.R.M.

(1) *See* Rivarola's letters from Malta to the King 27 July and 15 September 1718 in Stellardi's «Il Regno di Vittorio Amedeo di Savoja» 1713-19 V. 3 p. 360-408 Turin. 1862; and Vols. 1778 «Pretensioni degli Inglesi e Spagnuoli 1718-22» and 1779 «Neutralità del Porto» ff. 74-76 and 83-89. P.R.M.

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The tartan referred to, another one which the Spaniards in their turn took from Malta and armed in Messina, and a third which was doing coastguard service and flying the Maltese flag, got mixed up in depredations on English merchantment. This again gave rise to contentions between England and the Order. Admiral Byng remonstrated. His letters to the Grand Master are dated H. M. S. «Barfleur» 11th. June 1719, H. M. S. «Kent» 1st. July and H. M. S. «Oxford» 11th. August in the same year. Captain George Saunders on the 18th. October lodged a formal protest on behalf of the British Government against the partiality shown by the Order in favour of the Spaniards (1). These differences

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(1) Vol. 1179 «Neutralità del Porto» ff. 41 and 57-9. Admiral Byng's first letter runs: «Monsieur, Non obstant les egars, que j'ai eu pour les vaisseaux et batimens, que nous avons recontré portans le Pavillon de la Religion de Malte, et l'esperance que j'ai eu que V. Em ce ne temoigneroit aucune partialité envers les Espagnols au prejudice de mon Maitre et ses alliez engagez dans le guerre presente, J'ai pourtant receu avis, et je crains trop bien fondee, que les sujets de la Religion ont armé en guerre des vaisseaux avec des commissions espagnoles ou se sont engagez en grand nombre pour servir sous ses banieres pour croiser sur les batimens des sujets negocians de Mon Maitre et en ont actuellement pris quelques uns; ce qui m'oblige à m'enplaindre V. Em.ce, esperant non seulement qu'elle rappellerà les vaisseaux, qui ont etè armez dans votre port et les sujets de votre etat qui ont pris parti dans le service d'Espagne, mais leur defenderà de s'engager pour l'avenir dans le dit parti, autrement s'il leur est permis de se saisir ainsi de nos vaisseaux marchan d'une maniere de pirate, je puis au moins dire d'une maniere fort injuste, cela pourrà engager le Roy Mon Maitre de se servir des moyens, qu'il pourrà avoir en main de reformer les abus offerts à ses sujets et la grande partialitè exerceé en faveur de ses ennemis.

Je voudrois tres volontiers croire que ce qui s'est passè de cette nature n'à pas etè fait per la permission de V. Em.ce j'attens plutost, comme le feu Roy de Sicile à cede cett'Isle a l'Empereur qui en est par là devenu le Roy legittime, que nulle protection soit donnée dans votre port aux ennemis de ses Allies, ni qu'ils ayent permission d'y faire des magazins, ni qu'il leur serve d'azyle, mais que la grande sagesse, prudence et impartialité de la Religion voudront volontierement eviter de donner offense et de traitter injurieusement les alliez

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were eventually settled by a preliminary agreement entered into between Captain Saunders, representing Byng, and the Order. The Knight Joseph de la Val Montmorency was subsequently sent to London with full powers to conclude the formal agreement (1).

Craggs James, George II's Minister, recognised (20 June 1720) the difficult position in which the Grand Master and Order were placed, and he consented, in His Majesty's name, to their sending an authorized person to represent and uphold their interests at the Congress of Cambray (2). Spain there gave an undertaking to England to liquidate the prizes taken and the damages caused by ships fitted out by her.

Neutrality of Malta

Strict neutrality whilst Malta remained a fief of the Kingdom of Sicily was rather difficult to maintain. The policy of the Order under the circumstances was to avoid giving any pretext of complaint to any Power, so as not to have other enemies except the Ottoman Empire. In pursuance of this policy the Order even refused its support to the Comte Desneval (Peter Joseph Le Roux) in an expedition to Massawah intended to set up an Abyssinian Trading Company, as the enterprise was

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engagez dans cette guerre contre l'Espagne, la quelle est principalement entreprise dans la vieu de produire et d'etablir une paix durable dans toute la chrestieneté.

Si ce de quoy j'ai l'honneur de me plaindre a V. Emce est reformé et les maux effectuellement prevenus à l'avenir, j aury grand plaisir de temoigner dans toutes les rencontres le grand estime, que je fay de tous les chevaliers de la Religion et en particulier de vous assurer, que j'ai l'honneur d'etre—Monsieur De Votre Eminence le tres humble et tres obeissant serviteur—abord de vaisseau de S. M. Brttannique le Basfleur dans le Baye de Milazzo, ce 11me. Juin 1719 —G. Byng.

(1) Vol. 1778 and Vol, 267 L. C. S. 1717-24 under the dates 11 and 13 December 1719: 1 April 1720 and 16 January 1721. ff. 64 5, 71-93.

(2) De la Val's report to the Grand Master dated from London 10th. June 1720 adds. «Le Roy me fit l'honneur de me dire hier qu'il chargeroit ses plenipotentiares de s'interesser pour l'Ordre sur cette affaire». Ms. 929. M. P. L.

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deemed likely to arouse the susceptibilities of Portugal and England, who were supposed to be, directly or indirectly, interested in obtaining similar commercial facilities from Abyssinia. Pope Benedict XIV favoured the scheme and urged the Order to help by this means the introduction of Franciscan missionaries into Ethiopia. The relative Papal brief destined for the Negus, dated the 21st. January 1741, remained however undelivered, and is still in the Inquisitors' Archives, in Malta. The proposed mission, expedition and trading company thus all remained unfulfilled. (1). The road to Abyssinia was at the time through Egypt and the Soudan; and later events have shown the interests the English had in those parts. One of the directors of the then British India Company had asked the Negus to allow his company to open trade relations with his domain, but his overtures met with no response (2).

Dependence on Sicily.

The Order always aimed at shaking off its dependence on Sicily as much as possible. It lost no opportunity to attain this end by degrees, so as to secure in the long

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(1) Mss. «Memorie Gualtieri T. 2. ff. 338-42; vol. Lettere della Segreteria di Stato agli Inquisitori 1731-59 (24th. January, 5th. April 2 and 23 May 1741); vol. «Lettere alla Segreteria di Stato» 1723-42 (28th) February 1741). Inquisitors' Archives, Malta. Archbishop's Palace.—Vol. 269 L C.S.1735 40. ff. 36 and following (6 April 1735 and 22 March 1740). The final report of the Knights' Commission is in vol 6393. P.R.M— Marcellino da Civezza, Missioni Francescane, Firenze 1894 l. 3 pp' 243-249.—Bruce of Kinnaird, Travels. Edinburgh 1790 vol. 3. pp. 630-31.

(2) Curiously enough, a previous and a later move to further the interests of the Catholic faith in Ethiopia had some sort of connection with Malta. Monsignor Leonardo Abela a Maltese Canon of the Cathedral was appointed bishop and sent in 1582 by Pope Gregory XIII, in the capacity of *Nuncio*, to the Levant (G. F. Abela. Malta Illustrata, Malta 1747 f. 555); and Mg.r Annetto Casolani similarly a Canon of the Cathedral was consecrated bishop, on the 24th. April 1846, with Father afterwards Cardinal, Massaja as Apostolic Vicar of the Gallas and made Vicar Apostolic of Central Africa. Furnished with a Firman Casolani left Cairo and went up the Nile on the 28th. September 1847 flying on his boat the British Flag given him by the Governor ot Malta before he left his native land.—Ms. 1090 M.P.L; Massaja G. Missione nell'Alta Etiopia. Roma 1885 Vol. I. pl. vol. 3. p. 67.—

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run absolute independence without arousing the suspicions of the Sicilian Government. But the latter was too wide awake not to see through the Order's moves and determined to counteract them by pressing its supposed paramount rights on Malta through the so called tribunal of the «Monarchia». The Government of Charles III had since 1741 taken seriously to heart the relations of Malta to the «Monarchia». On the 19th. May 1753 the Marquis Fogliani, Secretary of State, intimated that the King, in his capacity of Sovereign of Malta, Patron of the Bishopric, and Legate of the Pope, had ordered the Bishop of Syracuse, Mg.r Testa, to visit Malta (1).

As might be expected the Knights refused to recognize such royal rights and the Commissioner sent in virtue thereof, and they violently prevented the Commissioner's deputies from landing in Malta. (2) The Order 's Special

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(1) Ms. 132 Tencin, Relation de l'affaire concernant la visite de l'Evechè de Malte. M. P. L.—Vol. 2084a. in P. R. M. is a copy of the same, and vol. 2084b. its «Pieces justificatives».

The vols. containing documents on this question still preserved in Malta Archives are, besides the above, one no. 2076, P. R. M. which is the second volume of a series of eight dealing on the subject. The 1st. 3rd. 4th. 6th. and 8th. are in the Cathedral Arch. Ms. 521 ff. 2-7, 21, 41, 55-130 contains also useful information.

One of the first steps taken by the Neopolitan Government was to put in evidence the real condition of the people of Malta with their ancient privileges, when the Order of St. John took possession of the Island. A book «Mustafà Bassà di Rodi» published in Naples, 1751, under the name of a certain M. Acciardi, although professedly dealing with the conspiracy of the slaves in 1749, gave such broad hints as to the dependence of Malta from Sicily that the Grand Master insisted on its being withdrawn, the author arrested, and the editor punished, notwithstanding that it had been published with Government permission. (Schipa, Il Regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo Borbone. Arch. Str. Napoletano. an. 28 p. 653].

(2) «L'Ordre a eu lieu de connoitre manifestement, que cette visite servoit de pretexte pour luy ravir la libertè dont il jouit depuis piusieurs siecles, a l'abry de la protection de toutes les Puissances Chretiennes. Les Ministres de la cour de Naples expliquant les intentions du Roy, ont soutenu, *que S. M. ny ses predecesseurs n'ont point*

Envoy at Naples was thereupon bid to haul down the Order's ensign from over his abode. The privilege of exporting provisions from that Kingdom was likewise suddenly suspended, all trade with Malta stopped and all property of the Order in the Realm confiscated. (1) Pope Benedict XIV, the King of France, and all other sovereigns, that of Great Britain included (2), were earnestly urged by the Knights to interest themselves in the matter, reflecting as it did on the independence of the

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cessè d'etre souverains des Isles de Malte et du Goze; qu'ils ont continuellement fait des actes en celle qualitè par le ministere du tribunal de la Monarchie depositaire de l'authoritè spirituele, et temporale dans le Royaume de Sicile». Memoire in Ms. 20 f. 282 Arch. of the Malta Cathedral.

(1) The measure taken by King Charles' Government on the 4th, January 1754 against the Knights and Malta suspended: «Ogni genere di commercio fra i regni di S. M. ed i suoi Presidi di Toscana ed isola di Elba e tutti i suoi nazionali e sudditi di Malta e qualsiasi altro individuo e dipendente della Religione, di modo che non sia permesso ai sudditi di S. M. il passare nelle Isole di Malta nè a Maltesi ne Domini di S. Maestà»...

«che non dovendo esservi più alcun Commercio o contatto fra le due nazioni si partecipi a tutti i ministri e consoli della religione tal risoluzione, affinche abbassino le armi della medesima e sappiano che non saran più riconosciuti per tali ministri».

«Che sia proibito in tutti i Porti e spiaggie delli domini di S.M. lo accesso di bastimenti con bandiera della Religione»..... Tom I. Miscellanea «Controversia colla Corte di Napoli»: 1753-4. f. 107 Arch. Cattle. Malta.

(2) Count Colloredo, Austrian Ambassador at the English Court served Pinto's purpose in London [Vol. 1511, Pinto's letter to the Balì Colloredo Vienna 6th. March 1753; vol. 1355 Balì Solaro di Boglio's letter to Pinto 8th. February 1754], whilst the Bajlly de Froully, Ambassador of the Order at the French Court interested Lord Albermarle, the British Ambassador in Paris, in the matter. vol 20. ff. 141-4 Malta Cath. Archive. Froullay, to overcome the opposition of the French sovereign, took advantage of the rivalries existing between the English and French courts. He addressed Louis at an audience «Eh bien, Sire, repris je, en riant moy même, voulez vous que nous la remettion a l'Angleterre, a la Hollande? Non, dit le Roy, je veux et il me convient que la Religion la garde et en jouisse en toute souveraineté». Vol. 1226, Froullay's report to Pinto 8 January 1754 P.R M.

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Port of Malta, in default of which strict neutrality in wars among Christian states could not be maintained.

This motive of independence was likewise urged by Grand Master Pinto when seeking in 1763 to obtain the domain of Corsica:—«la Religion par l'acquisition de la Corse troveroit les moyens de sustenter Malte, et par là de se rendre moins dépendante de la Sicile» (1).

It was principally due to the Pope's intervention and to the good offices of the French Sovereign that Grand Master Pinto was enabled to checkmate the drastic measures of the Neapolitan Government. In all probability it was the threatened truce between the Order and the Barbary States,—suggested by the French Court,—which made the Neapolitan Government climb down from its pretensions. Such an arrangement would have freed Malta from dependence on Sicily for its provisions, whilst, at the same time, the cessation of hostilities between the Order and the Barbary Powers would have immeasurably

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(1) «Mémoire remis a S. Ex·ce M. le Duc de Choiseul le 4 Nov. 1763»—Ms. 421 p. 15. M.P.L. The Knights' first attempt to secure Corsica was made in 1559, but the rivalries between Spain and France prevented its realization. — The Constable Anne de Montmorency informed at the time the Order's Ambassador, Commander de Guismeran, that the French did not wish to lend help in the matter on account of their having been postponed to the Spanish King, whose consent had been previously asked by the Knights, owing to his possessing the neighbouring island of Sardinia. La Valette then attempted to obtain the cession of Corsica directly from Genoa through the Bali Doria and the Comm.r Salvago but the demands of the Genoese Senate were exorbitant. Other vain hopes were entertained of securing this valuable prize during the revolution in 1567 caused by Alphonse Fits de St. Pierre. The Knight Anofrio Acciaiuoli in Florence took up the matter and by order of the Grand Master approached the Pope on the subject but without any definite result, Again in 1667 the Order and Genoa were treating on the cession of Corsica but nothing came of it. In 1763 the Order tried to have the island on the same terms as Malta and the people of Corsica were to obtain the consent of the Powers thereto at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Duke de Choiseul, however, was too powerful a competitor for the Order, and Corsica was instead annexed to France.

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increased the vulnerability of the Sicilian and Neapolitan coasts to the incursions of the Infidels. The letter which the King of Naples wrote to Pope Benedict XIV, on the 27th December was so worded as to make it appear that he was yielding only in deference to the request of His Holiness and that he abided by the Pope's words in the letter of 26th. November (1), «that his rights on Malta were not to be considered prejudiced by such condescension' (2)». In his other letter to the King of France, Charles pretended that the dispute had been settled «uniquement à sa consideration»! (3) whilst a note of the 28th. December 1754, sent by Fogliani to the Order's representative at the Neapolitan Court, ascribes the result to the two sovereign mediators (4). Through the good offices of the French Court a complimentary visit, demanded by Charles, was also arranged for, as a sort of recognition of the respect and thanks due by the Order to the Sovereign of Sicily. This act of defence was carried out with much pomp and circumstance by the Galleys and ships-of-the-line of the Order (5).

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(1) M. Schipa, l. c.p. 310; Ms.232 f.220-2 and vol.2084b.P.R.M.

(2) His letter is reported in Ms. 232 p. 222. M. P. L.

(3) Ms. «VI Lettere dell' Ambasciatore in Parigi» marked 20 p. 257. Archives of the M. Cathedral.

(4) 248—«Senor mio. Haviendo venido el Rey en condescender a las eficazes instancias, con que Sua Santidad, y el Rey Xmo. han intercedido por medio de sus respectivas y fervorosas cartas a favor de la Religion Gerosolimitana: se hà servido S. M. a contemplacion de tan respectables oficios y para dàr a ambos soberanos en todas ocasiones las mas vivas pruebas de su atencion y parcialidad, resolver y mandar que sin perjuicio de todos y quales quiera derechos, que S. M. tiene sobre la Isla e Iglesia de Malta, los quales deven quedàr siempre ilesos, firmes, y estables se restituia el libre Comercio entre estos Reynos y Presidios de Toscana y la Isla de Malta, y se quite el sequestro impuesto a los Bienes de la Religion restableciendose todo e nel mismo modo en que estava antes de la Real resolucion de 5. de Enero de este ano; Io lo participo a V.S. de orden de S.M., para que en su consequencia, pueda presentarse a la Real Corte siempre que guste e, y pueda ponerlo en noticia de su Gran Maestre para su inteligencia y govierno. Renuevo a V. S. mes deseos de servirle y uego a Dios le ge. ms. as,—Palacio 28 de De. 1754—B. L. M. de V.S. — Su Mor. Ser. El Marqs Fogliani»—V. 2076 f. 248 P.R.M.

(5) Full description in Ms. 232 by Tencin pp. 240 232. P. M L.

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The antagonism between England and France in regard to the American colonies again broke out in the «Seven Years War» (1756 - 63). The alliance of the English with Frederick II of Prussia against Austria and her Allies,—France, Russia and Germany,—seriously compromised the harmony and friendliness which had now existed for some time between England and Malta. But Pinto's great tact, energy and good luck, dexterously faced the repeated and various grave incidents which then occurred, eventually rendering them innocuous to his sovereignity over Malta.

As early as 1748 (28th May) Pinto had lodged a complaint with the Court of St. James against the violence of English Captains who, disregarding territorial limits both in the harbours and on the coasts of these islands, had engaged French ships, in spite of repeated warnings received from the shore by the firing of blank charges (1).

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(1). « Serenissime et Potentissime Rex—Communis Principibus amor sua jurâ tuendi, ac publica Populorum in suis navigationibus felicitas me movent, ut Majestati vestrae mittam has literas, quibus opem vestram flagitem ut contra audaces âliquorum impetus mea haec Insula tuta sit. Lex est omnibus Navium Praefectis Anglis a Majestate vestra sapientissime lata: Navibus qua Gallis, quâ Hispanis nullam vim nullam iniuriam ab Anglis inferri posse, ubi illae, vel Principis neutri porti adhaerentis tangant amicum littus vel a littore ita distent ut tamen extra bellici tormenti iactum non sint. Legem hanc pro nihilo habuerunt aliquot Navium Angli rectores, quippe qui Naves gallicas ita prosequi ausi sunt, ut licet a proxima littoris turre repetitis ictibus moniti, in illas irruerint ac suas facere non dubitaverint. Hos igitur legis Vestrae inobedientes subditos ac Publici Juris Pacisque meae perturbatores oro atque obtestor ut ea qua pollet authoritate summa nec minori potentia cohibeat quod utique non peterem si authoritati ac potentiae vestrae parem etiam in meis precibus aequitatem non agnoscerem. Restat ut me, meosque omnes majestati vestrae exhibeam atque diuturnos ac felices in Regno Dies a Deo appreces. Dabantur—28 Maii 1748»—vol. 1210 P. R. M.

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George II protested his friendship (8th December 1748) declaring that he wished to pay due regard to the law of nations and to respect the Maltese shores, and giving assurances that any damages that had been caused would be made good (1). But the combatants in the heat and ardour of the conflict often failed to pay heed to the wishes and directions of their rulers and incidents swelled in number and proportions. The views of the Order could not chime in with those of the English in general and of John Dodsworth, their consul in Malta, in particular, and in consequence much bad blood was being created in London, where, in all likelihood, there was more inclination to rely on Dodsworth's reports than on the assurances of the ministers of the Grand Master and Prince of the Island. So much may be gathered from the complaints made by Lord Albermale to the Bailli Froullay, the representative of the Order at Versailles (2).

The English Captains, William Johnston and Robert Hooger, were at loggerheads whilst in the Malta harbour. The Consul showed partiality for the latter against the opinion of the Grand Masters's ministers, and reported to England giving his own version. (3).

In December 1755 an English frigate under the command of Captain Harvey entered the harbour, bringing in several prizes she had captured. She afterwards chased a French vessel signalled from the land, and captured her in sight of the island. Profiting by the absence of the regulations which were usually issued on receipt of official news of the declaration of war, the prize was sold. It may be imagined that the Knights, especially those of French nationality, were incensed at the proceedings. Their resentment however was somewhat appeased when another armed English vessel went out on a similar errand but was worsted and sunk.

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(1). Vol- 270 L. C. S. 1743-54 f. 192: vol. 57 M. P. L.

(2). Vol. 1577 «Corrispondenza» f. 5 and vol 1227 « Memorie » 8 January 1754. P.R.M.

(3) Vol- 1226 Letter and memo by Bali Froullay to Albermale 12 December 1754; vol. 1577 f. 158.

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Affairs assumed a still more serious aspect when on the 2nd of March 1756, Captain Robert Miller of London entered the harbour in command of a vessel with a crew of 15 hands and six guns. He re-fitted the masts, raised the bulwarks, opened additional portholes, acquired six new guns, arms and munitions of war for his ship and endeavoured to enlist more hands for his crew applying to the « Gran Visconte » Giuseppe Maistre, for the purpose. The Chief Equerry, Baldassere Veran, on behalf of the authorities, warned Miller that his vessel would be detained until he had effectively disarmed by reducing her to the state in which he had brought her into harbour and by delivering to the Arsenal of the Galleys the gnus together with all ammunition and provisions purchased in Malta for privateering purposes, on repayment of the amount he had laid out for them (1). Miller, supported by Consul Dodsworth, refused to submit, on the ground that he had done no more than what Captain Louis Jouoin had secured for the corvette S. Hippolite then in harbour, and that in strengthening his means of defence and his crew he had followed the example of the two French polacres belonging to Miolan and Grofroit (or Jouffrait) which had left the harbour in the preceding July (2).

As a matter of fact Jouoin, through the French Representative, the Bali D'Hennin, had declared his readiness to obey the order for disarming with which he had at the same time been served, Jouffrait had not asked the Government of Malta for anything, and Miolan left the harbour before the news of the declaration of war had reached Malta (3). Miller's conduct compelled the officers entrusted with the duty of carrying out the regulations to use force. They had to cut off the rudder of his ship thus disabling it. Miller himself was placed under arrest on board his own ship to prevent his leaving Malta before disarming, as he apparently intended to do (4). The situation was aggravated by the

(1) Vol 1577 f. 5; Vol. 271 f. 32 P. R. M.

(2). Vol. 1780 f. 13 P. R. M.

(3). Vol. 271 L. C. S. 1755-72 ff. 34

(4). Vol. 271 L. C. S. 1755.62 ff. 29-39 Vol. 1780 « Neutralità del Porto » f 28

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entry into port (12 October 1756) of a Turkish xebec flying the British flag under the orders of Captain William Hodgson with a crew of only three hands whilst the ship's papers referred to a Brigantine named « Dover » with a crew of eleven. To make matters still worse Captain Fortunatus Wright brought in two French prizes whereof one, the S. Jean, captured, within gunshot of Comino and the *tal Ahrash* tower, by Captain Hutchinson, one of the officors under the command of Wright (1). This prize the French Government afterwards claimed back (16 Februray 1756). The three English Captains and their Consul lent support to one another, exchanged crews, and disregarded the sanitary regulations, Miller even threatening those who called him to obedience (2).

On the 21st. December 1756 a British man-of-war, the «Jersey», commanded by Captain William Burnaby, arrived in Malta. Burnaby vehemently protested against the action of the Order and only ceased his remonstrances when informed that the Grand Master had submitted the whole case to the Court of St. James. Burnaby added to the difficulties of the situation by carrying away slaves and *bonavoglias* who had gone on board his ship (3). It was fortunate that the royal answer to the Grand Master's complaints was already on its way, and that it brought him the message that George II had taken note of the complaint, hoped that such incidents would not disturb mutual good relations and confidently expected that the Order would further British interests (4).

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(1). Vol. 1780 f. 154 vol. 271 L. C. S. 1755-62 f. 45 a letter by the Duke of Bedford to the Grand Master on this subject is presered in vol. 1205 f. 166. P R.M.

(2). Vol. 271 ff. 34, 38, 40, 46, 48, 49t and 60·

(3). 271 ff. 51t, 52, 58,,

(4). Vol. 571 f. 58 — « Georgiŭs Secundus Eminentissimo Principi Domino Emanueli Pinto Magno Ordinis Melitensis Magistro, Consanguineo et amico nostro charissimo, Salutem:

Eminentissime Princeps, consanguinee et amice charissime ;— Perturbationes, literis vestris, die 25 Augusti praeterlapsi relatae, quae

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The fortunes of war now smiled on one side now on the other, both adding to their plunder.

Three French vessels succeeded in capturing as many English ships, — of which one, the «Tiger», a 36 gun frigate, was captured by the «La Rose» frigate commanded by Mons. de Sede, carrying 28 guns and a crew of 200 men. The «Tiger» had lost all her masts and was brought into harbour with a view to her being added to the French squadron (1). Three British men-of-war, of which the flag-ship carried 60 guns, under the command of Capt. Hervey, came to the rescue giving chase to the «La Rose» which went aground on the Munxar reef. There they did not desist from plying her with shot, not only disregarding territorial limits but also showing hostility to a Maltese tartan which had sought shelter under the Tower of Marsascala. A cannon shot from the Tower damaged the companion ladder of the British ship. The happened in the 1st. of July 175.

The Grand Master forwarded to the Court of St. James his complaint against the conduct of the English Commander, and the directions given by the English Government to the Admiralty in this regard are

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ad *navem Roberti Miller*, insula Melitae exoriuntur, Nobis nequaquam gratae sunt, amicitiam inter Nos vestrumque ordinem antiquissmum existentem inviolatam conservare cupientes subditosque Nostros Neutralis Portus legibus obtemperare minime dubitantes quin omnes naves tam bellicae quam onerariae, nostris signis munitae, vestra ex parte debito hospitio recipientur ac necessaria adjumenta eis libere administrentur, subditique nostri ut domum redeant, navibus britannicis conscendere permitterentur: speramus etiam ut nullus detur quaerimonia locus Eminentiae Vestrae ob ea quae attinent ad subditos nostros, *et praecipue ad dominum Dodsworth consulatus nostri munera perfungentem;* Quod superest Eminentiam Vestram, totumque Ordinem Vestrum Divini numinis tutelae maxime commendamus. Dabantur in Palatio nostro apud Kensington die sexto mensis Novembris, anno domini millesimo septingentesimo quinquagesimo sexto, regnique nostri trigesimo :— Em:ae V:ae—Bonus consanguineus et amicus—Georgius R.—H. Fox.»

(1). Vol. 271 L. C. S. f. 84, P.R.M.

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referred to in the letter of King George to the Grand Master and dated the 8th December 1758 countersigned by the Duke of Bedford (1)

The next day following this incident, Sunday 2nd July, His Highness ordered all the artillery to be put on war footing and to be mounted without loss of time on the bastions, castles and towers. By the 3rd all the pieces of ordnance had been brought out of store (2). On the 9th three British warships under Captain Harvey, came in search of the « Tiger » and asked for provisions which were granted to them.

In the meantime, as a measure of precaution, « to be ready in case of any attempt being made to take this place by surprise », the fortresses were being armed. The gun which had dealt Dragut his mortal wound was, for the first time, removed from St. Angelo and mounted on St. Elmo: two lieutenant generals, the Grand Bali Schawenberg, and the Bali Claude de St. Simon, were appointed to take command of the West and East districts, respectively. (3).

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(1). Vol. 924 — « Georgius Secundus—Eme. Princeps, consanguinee et amice charissime.—Literas vestras melite die 28 mensis maii proxime praeteriti datas accepimus per quas Eminentia Vestra gravem ad Nos detulit querimoniam quod ad littus sub ditione vestra aliquot navium Anglici rectores in quasdam naves Gallicas irruerint et suas facere non dubitaverint ; Vos itaque persuasos esse volumus quod Nos nihil injuriae aut impetus vel Vobis vel aliis amicis nostris et foederatis a subditis nostris inferri passi: Religione autem debita jura gentium usque observaturi fuerimus. Et ut Eminentia Vestra de hac nostra animi propensione certior reddatur, Nos mandata nostra jamdudum nostris pro administratione rerum navalium commissariis nota fecimus, ut haec ratio penitus exquiratur, et jus omne tam Vobis ob contumeliam quam pro damna laesis reddatur. Quod reliquum est, Eminentiae Vestrae, rebusque vestris pacem omnem et felicitatem ex voto exoptamus. Dabantur in Palatio N.ro S. Jacobi octavo die mensis Decembris, an. D.ni 1768, Regnique nostri vicesimo secundo— Em:ae V:rae Bonus consanguineus et amicus—Georgius R.—Bedford ».

(2). Ms. 12 f. 517; Vol. 271 L.C.S. 24 July 1758 f. 55 ss. M.P.L.

(3), Vol. 271 f. 87 L. C. S. 21 July 1758 ; Ms. XII f. 529 M.P.L.

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On the 15th of August there was a scuffle between English and French in the streets at the back of the Slave Prison. Fists, stones and knives were freely used, and outright killing was averted by the timely arrival of the soldiers stationed at the Lower Barracca, who separated the combatants and conveyed them to the Prison. The mortally wounded were taken to the Infirmary, the English sailors being placed in the separate ward reserved for the English (1). On the 21st of the same month, orders were issued, in conformity with the practice followed in Sicily, that not more than three or four English warships at a time were to be allowed to enter the harbour (2).

Advices now arrived from Sicily warning the Order to be on their guard as the English had bombarded the coast at Capo Passaro and the walls of Augusta. The Order prepared themselves for defence, drew a supply of biscuits from their bakeries at Augusta and in fact brought over the baking plant to Malta. Certain claims of the artillery Commander having been settled, the troops were detailed to the different stations. The belligerents, on the plea of quarantine, were denied pratique (3).

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Doings of the English Consul

Consul Dodsworth was now called upon to deliver the effects unduly taken away from the Imperialists by the English, who had made an admittedly illegitimate use of the flag of the King of Prussia their ally. Dodsworth securely locked up the captured effects in his three stores at the Marina and refused to give them up, (4) thus adding fuel to the fire. The stores thereupon were sealed and a term was fixed to Dodsworth for delivery. On the eve of the expiration of the prefixed term Dodsworth, during the night (4th May 1762), put up a huge shield with the British Royal

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(1) Ms. 12, f. 533, M.P.L.
(2) Vol. 271, L.C.S. 1755-62. f. 87, P.R.M.
(3) Vol. 272 ff. 89, 92, 99t, [2 June 1759]
(4) Ms. 12, f. 727. M.P.L.

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Arms over the door of his house. Was this meant to protect British interests ?... It was thought at the time that his object was to evade responsibility towards the Government of Prussia. Other circumstances however subsequently revealed more equivocal purposes. He had tried to incite his own Government against the Order, reporting on the weak state of the Navy, on the points on which a landing could be effected in Malta, and on the way in which the ruin of the Maltese Government could be brought about and British power substituted thereto. The action now taken by him had long been in contemplation. The shield with the Royal Arms was being painted on the 9th of February 1757, and at that date, he did not vouchsafe any explanation to the Authorities as to the use he intended to make of it (1).

The Knights were now exasperated and on the night following Dodsworth's provoking freak some of them met at the house of the Bali Afflitti, in the neighbourhood of Dodsworth's house, with the intent of bringing down the shield by firing at it. Afflitti found the means of warning at once His Highness whereupon the Chief-Equerry turned up with 24 soldiers, conveyed the young Knights to their lodgings and together with the Gran Visconte and his men patrolled that neighbourhood during the whole night.

The Grand Master, in consequence of the resolution passed by the Council on the 6th May removed Dodsworth from his charge of Consul and appointed Angelo Rutter in his stead (18th. April 1763). Rutter was the son of an English Merchant established at the Marina. A sentry with fixed bayonet was posted at Dodsworth's door. These guards were kept at Dodsworth's door for nearly two years (2). The Knight Giorgio Valperga de Masino was despatched to London to give an account of what had happened (3). In the meantime precautions were being redoubled and even orders were given for building two new warships of 50 guns apiece.

(1) Vol 271, L.C.S. 1755 63, f. 60.
(2) Vol. 271 f. 228 (14 December 1762).
(3) Ms. 13 f 727. M.P.L.

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When the Order obtained possesion of Malta Lisleadam undertook to look after foreign interests in the island. For this purpose he and his successors used to appoint consuls to carry on the business of the different nationalities.

Dodsworth had received his appointment, on the 3rd. January 1743, in accordance with this prevalent custom, from Grand Master Pinto (1). Before the Knights had settled in these islands foreign consuls were elected by the municipality and town they represented, and, when they were recognized and accepted by the Malta Municipal Magistracy they exercised jurisdiction and decided any questions arising between their fellow-citizens. In like manner the Maltese Consuls at Messina, Syracuse, Licata and Barcellona and in other ports were elected by the Maltese, presented to the municipal authorities of those towns, and exercised there an analogous jurisdiction (2).

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(1) Vol, 545 L.B. an 1743 f. 156. P.R.M.

(2) On the 18th March 1471 the Maltese in Syracuse elected their Consul and wrote to the Malta University,—the Municipality,—to have him elected in the usual formal way (v. 27 f. 127 Cathedral Archives) A charter of King Ferdinand, dated 5th. January 1499, addressed to theViceroy of Sicily acknowledged the right the Maltese had from time immemorial to elect their consuls in Sicily and to have their affairs decided by them. Lisleadam, before leaving Syracuse for Malta, confirmed by a bull dated 22nd. September 1530 a certain Petruccio Falson as Consul of the Maltese in that town--an appointment which had been conferred on him three years before by the Jurats of the University (viz: Municipality of Malta) vol. 414. L. B. 1528-30 f. 281, A meeting of the Council of the Maltese People was held on the 3rd. December 1514 to remove the Maltese Consul at Licata owing to complaints against his behaviour towards Maltese merchants. (Ms. 959 Registrum Universitatis an. 1512-31 f. 93t.)—A letter of the Viceroy of Sicily, 8April 1423, to the officials at Malta recognises the right of the Consul of Messina in Malta to decide any mercantile questions arising amongst Sicilians, and civil questions up to a certain amount. (V. 27. f. 165 Cathed. Arch.) Such right is still better proved by a document. registered by the Consul himself in the deeds of Notary Lor.Agius, 4 May 1526.— An Antonio Manduca was Consul of Messina in Malta in 1555 (Ms. 41 ff. 116. fall. Cathed, Arch.)

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The first English Consul we meet during the dominion of the Knights is William Watz or Watts, who died on the 31st. October 1610 and was buried in the Carmelite Church, Valletta. His epitaph is reproduced in the P. Library Ms. No. 373 f, 78t. (1) His son John James was appointed Consul of England and of the Netherlands by patent issued from the Chancery of Grand Master Alof Wignacourt on the 15th of November. (2) The Consuls derived their authority from the Prince of the Island and they had to regulate their action and procedure according to the rules of the *Consolato del Mare* of Messina. Watts had his fee for the services he rendered to each ship, raised from two scudi to a gold doubloon by rescript of Grand Master Lascaris, who granted his demand to this effect on the 26th. November 1646 (3). Grand Master Perellos, being dissatisfied with a Mr. Thomas Rutter whom he had appointed Consul for England, (25th. June 1706) had him substituted by a Mr. Rigord without any opposition being raised thereto on the part of England (4). Perellos first enacted, on the 4th September 1697, a code of Maltese mercantile law, by which a «Consolato del Mare» different from that of Messina was established (5). This code was afterwards embodied in the Laws enacted by Grand Masters Manoel (1724) and Rohan 1784) (6).

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(1) D. O. M.

Hic jacet Wilhelmus Watz anglus—cui lux luceat perpetua—obiit anno Dni. MDCX—Die ult.o Octobris—Post tenebras spero lucem.

(2) Vol. 457 L.B. 1610-12 f. 275

(3) Vol 471f. 271t.—When the Maltese «Consolato del Mare» was established, the «jus. candelarum» in favour of the Consuls was taxed by the Chancellor of the Consulate in the way practiced by other tribunals. (15 Oct. 1735 L, B. an 1735 f. 135).

(4) Vol. 1577 f. 1577 A note presented by the Order's representative to the Neapolitan Government on the 2nd June 1709 gives the Grandmaster's ideas about the appointments of the Consuls at Malta,

(5) Ms. 392 M. P. L.

(6) The Consolato del Mare held their sittings in the Castellania in a room adjacent to the Chamber of Commerce (vol. 572 L. B. f. 360.10 Sett. 1776)

The French besides a Consul had a special Chargè d'Affaires with the title of « Homme de France ». The Spanish Court and the Imperial Court of Austria had also their special representatives, and the Holy See had another, in the person of the Inquisitor. The Neapolitan Government, latterly, had also its own plenipotentiary. All these, however with the exception of the Inquisitor, were Knights of the Order. There being no English Knights at that time, England had to rest satisfied with a mere Consul. Russia finding herself in analogous circumstances, insisted on having her own special envoy, the Chevalier Psaro, and before him, the Marquis Cavalcabo, whose policy, to all appearances, tallied in many points with that of Dodsworth.

Each of these officials in turn gave trouble to the Grand Master and Knights. Before Dodsworth's case the Sovereign of Naples had lodged complaints on account of the Consul for Sicily (1736) and the King of France in 1755 found fault with the appointment of the French Consul. When the English affair was settled, the Russian claims for the appointment first of Cavalcabo, and then of Psaro (1783) arose, whilst Joseph II's protests for want of due regard to his Austrian Ambassador in Malta, induced him (29 July 1770) to order the Knights resident in his realm not to send any money or assistance to their Convent before he had received redress (1).

The Order put their whole energy in honourably overcoming the difficulties arising from the situation created by the removal and arrest of the British Consul under the aforesaid circumstances. The British Minister at Naples, Mr. Grey, far from disapproving of the Grand Master's conduct, tried to put Valperga di Masino on the right path to secure a satisfactory issue of his mission (2) In the meantime English warships entering the harbour found no difficulty in doing business with Rutter. Valperga di Masino reached

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(1) Vol. 1372, P.R M. Zondadari memorie, *Inquisitor's Archives* Malta.

(2) Vol. 956 M.P.L. formerly .2194 P.R.M.

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London furnished, preceded and supported with many letters even from royal personages. One might have thought the matter at issue much more serious than that of a mere change of a commercial agent. (1).

Valperga hastened to report the favourable reception at once given him by the British Minister. Whereupon the board of Balis caused the block in which was Dodsworth's house, to be surrounded by soldiers. The Royal Arms he had placed over his door were taken down, (2 February 1763) and Dodsworth himself with his two younger children were removed to the apartment of the Senior Knight at St. Elmo Castle. Dodsworth's wife and his two daughters took shelter in the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalen, and his two eldest sons sought refuge in the Carmelite Convent and afterwards in St. Roche (2).

The Government of George III (3) expressed disapproval of the Consul's conduct and left the Prince and Grand Master in possession of his prerogative to provide for the representation of the English nation in these Islands. Captain Thomas Harrison and other English Captains received instructions from England to form a Board to enquire on the spot into the action taken by the Knights, and they found nothing to say to the proceedings taken. The members of this Board were very well treated, asked to dinner at the Palace and at Boschetto, by the General of the Galleys, Com-

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(1) *See* in vol. 1579 at P.R.M. the Letters to King Frederick II, 8 May 1762; to the BritishMinister Egremont 31 May, 3 and 5 February, 31 August and 28 September 1762 : to Lord Bute 6 February 1663.....; In Ms. 926, M.P.L. the letter of the King of Prussia's dated 23 June 1752, registered in the Knight's Council books on the 27 October following; In Ms. 933 M. P. L. letter of Carlo of Savoy of 21 July 1752, registered in Lib. Cons. on the 27 October following, and in Ms. 956 M. P. L. the report of Valperga di Masino's Mission,

(2) Ms. 14 «Stromata» pp. 16 and following M.P.L. and account given in Council 9 February 1763 registered in vol. 271 ff. 212, 214 217, 240 and 245.

(3) Letter of King George III of 7 January 1763 registered in vol. 271 L. c. s. (29 April 1763) f. 244 and 255 ; Vol. 272 L.C.S. 1764-1772 ff. 24, 25, 26; Ms. M.P.L. 14, f. 66 and 239.

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mandant Pacca. A performance was also given in their honour in the Theatre: but as the subordinate English Officers took seats with their Captains without paying heed to the Knights, the Grand Master, to avoid some unpleasant incident, was obliged to suspend the show.

The meetings of the Board of enquiry were held, in Dodsworth's presence, in the house of Commander Viguier, the officer commanding the Grand Master's guards. The question of Dodsworth's liabilities towards the Prussian Government and towards certain Knights was remitted to the Civil Tribunal by which he was declared to be indebted in 200,000 scudi (1).

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English, French and Russian rivalries for ascendency

The antagonisms between Russia and England and France in seeking to secure ascendency in Malta to their respective advantage, began now to make themselves evident. Peter the Great, in planning the extension of his empire with Constantinople for its capital, did not lose sight of Malta. Field Marshal Boris Petrowitz Szevemetief and several other Russian high functionaries visited the island in 1698. Szevemetief's apparent mission was to seek the Order's alliance against the Turks. He was lodged in the « Casa Cotoner », presented with the eight-pointed cross in diamonds and permitted to wear it (2). The defeat sustained on the Pruth by the Russians in 1711 delayed any further devolopment of their policy with reference to Malta.

The Empress Catherine's aim was to strengthen the bonds of friendship with the Knights. With this end in view Russian officers were admitted on board the Galleys of the Order to finish their nautical education (3), and placed on an equal footing with the Knights whilst bailiffs and commanders, such as the Marquis M. E. Sagramoso and the Count Julius

(1) Vol. 1522 The Court's decision by Judge Clinchant is dated 6th. March 1766. The deed of Mrs Dodsworth Dowry was dated 19 April 1738.

(2) V. 503 L. B. f 110; V. 264 L. C. S. 1693-99 f. 164; V. 6389 fl. 69-90 P. R. M.

(3) V. 1522 Pinto's correspondence. Letter 24th June 1756

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Litta were reorganizing the Russian fleet to enable it to oppose the Swedish armament. During the Russo-Turkish war Catherine and her admiral, Sergius de Babinkoff, urged the Order to join the Russian squadron, and asked for the free use of the Maltese harbours for the Russian fleet. The Marquis Cavalcabo was the bearer (10th. January 1770) of the Czarina's message (1). Contemporary politics however, induced the Knights to be wary. They adhered to the principle of not allowing more than four ships at a time to enter the harbour, they declined, on the plea of self-imposed neutrality, to join the Russian fleet, and, to guard themselves against any possible insult or aggression by hostile ships, they reinforced the coast defences with more guns and further guards (2). After events show that their fears were well-grounded.

Russian warships were continually arriving up to 1775; Spiritoff victualled his fleet in this port. The navigation of the Black Sea had become free for Russia by the treaty of Kandjick (21 July 1774), and the growing restlessness among the inhabitants of Malta was being encouraged, if it did not originate with foreign influence. The increasing attraction of Russia towards Malta and its Knights was becoming evident. In 1776 the Czar dedicated to the Knights of Malta, the Hospital for Naval Pensioners at St. Petersburg and caused the Maltese Cross, which is still to be seen, to be placed on the front of that building (3).

Neapolitan politics, moreover, were far from inspiring confidence in the Knights. Dolomieu the French naturalist, who was a Knight commander of the Order, published both in Malta and in France in 1783 what he had heard at the Court of Naples about the negotiations of that Court with regard to the cession of Malta to Russia. Such indiscretion brought down on

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(1) P. Pierling La Russie et la Saint-Siege V. p. 192.

(2) V. 1362 P. R. M. and the Inquisitor Zondadari's letters to the Pope's Secretary of State (Archbishop's Archives.)

(3) V. 273 L. C. S f. 177-8

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him all the wrath of that Court, but it probably put a stop for a time to further intrigues (1). In that same year the Chev. Psaro was appointed Russian Agent in Malta. This step evidently displeased the Grand Master. On his arrival in Malta (May 1784) Psaro applied for the Villino Bichi to convert it into a provision store for the Russian fleet (2). This request was met with a curt refusal. Psaro's subsequent machinations, in 1788, and the intrigues of Queen Caroline of Naples with the Russian Court, for the cession to Russia of the paramount domain of the King of Sicily over Malta, braced the Knights to prepare themselves to resist by force any such transaction (3). Matters appear to have gone so far that the Count de Bressac,—an intimate friend of General Acton, Neapolitan Minister of State—had come over to Malta in connection with the proposed transfer. The accomplishment of the scheme was frustrated by a stratagem of the Marquis Sambuca, who forwarded to the Spanish Court (4) Caroline's confidential correspondence with Count Rosmowschi, the Russian Ambassador. Under circumstances such as these Grand Master Rohan was fully justified in refusing to acquiesce to the proposal made to him by General Zaborouski and Captain Galicoustschy, to send the Fleet of the Order to the Levant, ostensibly to co-operate with the Muscovites, but more probably with the object of leaving Malta undefended and giving leisure to the

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(1) A. Verry's letters by Greppi in the *Arch. Str. Ital* 1883 f. 372 Memorie Zondadari Vol. III Letter to the Cardinal Secretary of State, 16 Apr. 1785. Malta Archbishop's Palace. — D.S.G. de Gratet Dolomieu in a duel at Gaeta had killed his adversary (1768). Dolomieu was pardoned through the intercession of the Duc de Choiseul who acted in the name of King Louis and of the Pope.

(2) V. 6408 P.R.M. Mgr. A. F. Zondadari's Letter in the Inquisitor's Archives. Malta.

(3) Ibi. Letter dated 16 August 1718; —G.274L.C.S. 173-948 f. 132.

(4) F. Greppi, Dissidi tra Spagna e Napoli nel *1786 Arch.Str. Ital.* an. 1884 f. 373-74.

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Russians to enter the Harbour unopposed (1). The Knights moreover could not but take umbrage at the conduct of sundry Russian agents in Malta. A certain Captain Franceschi, for instance, engaged soldiers for the Russian service; another man, Captain Lorenzi, commanding a vessel flying the Maltese flag, as soon as he left the Malta harbour. haulded down the Maltese ensign and hoisted the Russian flag (2). Lorenzi, held the rank of Colonel on the pension list of the Russian Army. During the blockade of Valletta by the Maltese on land and by the British Fleet Lorenzi headed the emeute (29th. January 1799) which was intended to snatch Valletta out of French hands. It was afterwards found, or at any rate asserted, that Lorenzi was acting on behalf of the Russians (3). However that may be, Bonaparte, at that time, realizing his inability to hold Malta for France offered it to the Emperor Paul. The fact is that when Great Britain was called in she refused to surrender the island. The agreement between Russia and the King of the Two Sicilies (18 Dec. 1798) to share with Great Britain the occupation of Malta till the end of the war, fell through. Then followed an embargo on British ships in Russian ports. But Malta remained with those on whom the Maltese had bestowed it.

Whilst the events, which we have sought to sketch out in consecutive order, were taking place, during the latter years of the dominion of the Order in Malta, other influences no less potent and effective were at work with the intent of gaining ascendency over the destinies of the Island. So far back as 1766 King Louis of France by royal letters patent, duly registered in the Chancery of the Order (7th March 1966), had declared the inhabitants of the Gerosolmitan dominion to be his «naturalized subjects» (4).

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(1) V. 6408 Miari's letter in Rohan's name, dated 9 August 1788.

(2) Ms. 344 Letter of Rohan's secretary to Litta, 17 Apr. 1788.

(3) Clarke and Mc'Arthur. Life of Nelson V. 2 f. 148; British Museum Addit. Ms. 34909.

(4) Vol. 272 ff. 61, 64, 99t, Letters patent dated 12 July 1557

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The French Knights, bent on securing supremacy over the Order for the benefit and exclusive advantage of their national trade with the Levant, eagerly sought, in 1781, to incorporate with their langues the Priorate of Poland, notwithstanding the opposition of the German Knights, (1). If we are to believe Miege, who was French Consul in Malta at a time when memories were still fresh, even English gold had its share in fomenting the Maltese insurrectionary movement which goes by the name of the insurrection of Mannarino or the «Priests's rebellion». Presumably it was not Russia alone, with her Cavalcabo, who had had a finger in that pie!

In fact, the exploits of Consul Dodsworth, already referred to, lend substance to the supposition that he may have been working not altogether without the knowledge of his Government. In view of all these intrigues by the Great Powers the Order was compelled to put into force the usual regulations, as to the entry into harbour of belligerent warships, as soon as the French Charge d'Affaires, Chev. Caumont, had notified the open rupture between his Government and that of Great Britain (8 August 1778). At the same time quarantine was imposed on belligerent ships thus depriving them of the freedom they would otherwise have enjoyed (2). Still, in the teeth of all these restrictions, the Marquis de Fabri entered the harbour with his whole fleet.. , Old Rohan excused himself by saying that he could not set at defiance a whole fleet, particularly a French one! (3)

At the time the French Monarchy was still standing; France had not yet despoiled the Order of its property; it was therefore deemed good policy to curry her favour. When France passed into the revolutionary period and the Order's property in that kingdom was destroyed, and especially after the execution of Louis XVI, the Order changed

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(1) Letter of Inquisitor Zondadari; 16th. June 1786 Memorie, vol. III Inquisitor's archiv.s, Malta

(2) Lib. Cons. Status 1773-80 Vol. 272 f. 1778.

(3) See letter of the Inquisitor Zondadari 1 October 1778.

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tactics, winked at the enrollment of 482 Maltese sailors for the British fleet then besieging Toulon, and offered Admiral Hood the advantages of our harbour with its dockyard and stores (1). Rohan in 1793, while the English were masters of Toulon, formally protested against the use the Republic had made of the Tower belonging to the Knights in Paris, as the Prison of the French King.

Great Britain now came forward with an offer to give Rohan compensation equal to the loss sustained by the Order in France provided the Order took part in the conflict against France. Later, it seems, a subsidy was offered on condition of the cession of a harbour, a fort and some stores in this island for the benefit of the fleet. As a matter of fact the Order had never actually taken sides against the British from even earlier times. We have seen how when Verdala was asked to send his Knights to Ireland he demurred, but he granted a free passport and a maritime certificate to John Kell and David Fil (12th July and 10th August 1583) recommended by the Earl of Osborne and by a wealthy merchant, Richard Staparz, (2) and later on to John Luke (4 April 1588), to call at Malta with their ships, carrying guns and ammunition, at their leisure (3). On another occasion Lascaris declined to allow his ships to accompany the Duke of Lorraine in the expedition intended to assist the Irish Catholics against England (4). As a rule, the spirit of friendliness towards the English was uniformly maintained. In 1657 an English vessel chartered by the Municipality of Malta to carry grain from Sicily, was allowed to hoist the Maltese flag (5).

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(1) The sailors were recruited by the English Consul Mr. W. England, who had been appointed to that post by the Duke of Leeds 16 October 1789 at the request of Grand Master Rohan.

(2). V. 441 L. B. 1583-83 f. 283; V. 141 L. B. 1581-82f. 257.

(3) Vol. 303 Capitulum Gnle f. 42. A similar passaport and certificate was also given by Grand Master La Cassiere 13 Jan. 1579 to a Thomas Mur or Moore of London vol. 439 L. B. 1579 81 f. 242.

(4) Vol. 259 L C. S. 1651-56 ff. 23 and 24t. (23rd. and 28th February 1652).

(5) Vol. 259 L. C. S. 1657-66 f. 17. (18 October 1657)

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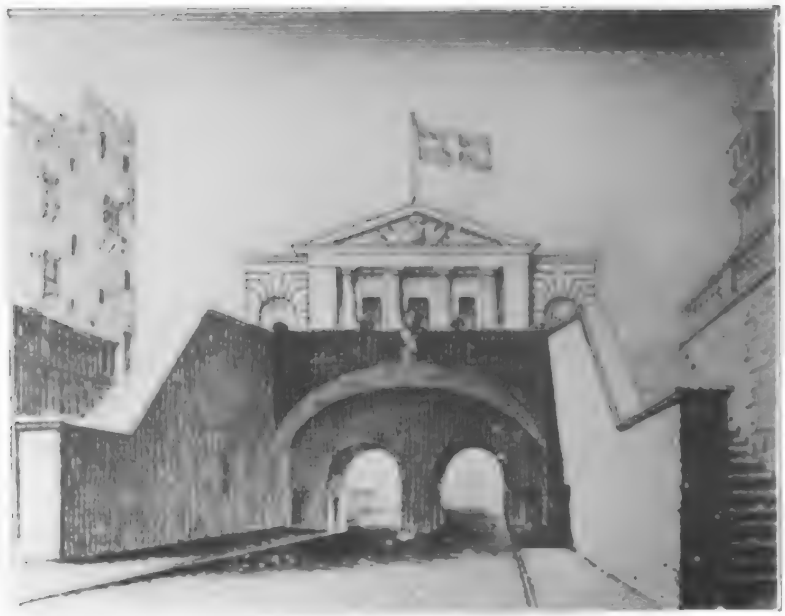

Drawing by G. Spiteri

STATION OF THE ST. JOHN'S AMBULANCE ASSOCIATION
OVER PORTA REALE — VALLETTA
-- 1912 —

SIR RICHARD SCHELLEY, PRIOR OF ENGLAND
1564 — 1589

From a medal preserved in Clerkenwell's Priory

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On the other hand Rohan could not openly countenance the proposals made by the English for many obvious reasons, not the least of which was that the Order at this time was interested in courting favours from Russia. in the the shape of the establishment of new priories. One may well imagine that the ruling spirits of the Order sought to keep clear of any too compromising undertakings whilst the friendship of the Order was being eagerly sought after from all quarters. Even the United States of America through their minister in Paris, Mr. Munroe, approached (April 1796) the Order's representative Mr. Cibon, to announce a visit of the American fleet to Malta with a view «to treat an alliance with the Knights»! (1).

French influences, moreover, were always simmering in the island. The case decided in 1796, against Vincenzo Barbara,M. A. Vassallo and many others, accused of revolutionary ideas tending to put Malta under French rule, is an instance to the point. These men had been probably instigated by some of the Knights in what they did.

In the end the successful machinations of the French emissaries, which brought about the occupation of Malta by the French Republicans, favoured the definitive passage of these islands to Great Britain (2).

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THE TONGUE OF ENGLAND TO-DAY

The object of this memoir being to give an account of «*The Knights Hospitallers of the Venerable Tongue of England in Malta,*» my task was concluded with the

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(1) Maisonneuve Annales de l'Ordre, St. Petersburg 1799; L. de la Brière, L'Ordre de Malte, Paris 1897; Miege Hist. de Malte v. 3. pag. 17 Paris 1840; De la Jonquiere, Expedition d'Egypt I. 657; Terrinoni G, Resa di Malta p. 75.

(2) *See* Thiers, History of the Consulate; C.Di Somma, Une Mission du Marquis de Gallo a St. Petersburg en 1799; Sovranità Inglese su Malta 1907. by the Author.

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preceding chapter.—It will not be out of place, however, to add a few words on *The Tongue of England to-day* just to refer to an institution which is supposed by some people to represent the old Venerable Tongue.

Queen Victoria, by her charter of the 14th May 1888, created an Order of St. John of Jerusalem analogous to, but independent of the ancient Order of St. John of Jerusalem called «of Malta», and without any connection with or dependency on the same. This new creation has been held by some to constitute a re-integration of the old «Tongue of England». The negociations undertaken by a commission, elected by French Knights of the Order in 1814, for the revival of the Tongue of England are supposed to link this modern institution with the old one (1). In support of this contention the following points are set forth: that a convention based on articles drawn up for the purpose on the 11th June 1826, and on the 24th August and 15th October 1827 was entered; that an alleged formal recognition of the reestablished Tongue took place (2) on 24th January 1831, when Sir Robert Peat, Chaplain extraordinary to H. M. George IV, and the holder of a Rectory in Middlesex, installed himself as Grand Prior of the Tongue of England in the presence of the Chevalier Philip Chastelain and of Mr. Donald Currie, who, by instrument issued by the French Knights on the 14th December 1827 had been deputed to inaugurate the installation. It is a fact

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(1) R. Bigsby Grand Cross and Secretary to the Aglican Order states that before the negociations referred to were initiated, the Commission of French Knights was deprived of all powers and authority by the Lieutenant Grand Master and Supreme Council of the Order who expressly prohibited «sub poena sanctae obedientiae» the holding of any meetings whatsoever. « Memoir of the Order » Derby. 1869. For particulars on these English Knights see W.M.R. Bedford and R Holbeche, *The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.* London 1902

(2) The same Bigsby complains of the opposition met with and of the lack of recognition by the Chief of the Order and his Council of this reconstitution of the Tongue effected on private initiative and without the formalities required by the statutes of the Order.

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that the said Sir Robert Peat, on 24th, February 1834, deemed it his duty to present himself in one of the Chanceries of the Royal Courts to take the oath of administration of the Grand Priory, notwithstanding that his case did not appear to be contemplated by the Statute 9. George IV c. 17 prescribing oaths of office, and much less was such procedure in any way required by the Statute of Philip and Mary invoked by him.

Mr. Cecil Lorr, in a communication to the «Atheneum,» No. 3267 of 7th June 1890, has proved that these contentions were untenable.

Indeed it is difficult to conceive how a limb could retain its vitality when cut off from the main body. It is a case of a new organization which has not the same head and which does not acknowledge the same chief of the old corporation.

The ancient Sovereign Military Order of Malta, still exists (1). The Grand Master has his seat in the *Palazzo di Malta* at Rome. He sends representatives to the Emperor of Austria and to the King of Italy; and not a few sovereigns (2), princes and nobles are decorated with the eight-pointed cross of the Order, whose regular members now seek to practice the old hospitality under new forms (3).

(1) *See* Le Bn. de Montagnac. L'Ordonnance des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem. Paris 1893. — H. K. Von Zwehl, Hospital des heil. Johannes von Jerusalem. Rom. April 1911.

(2) It has been observed that the late King Edward VII often delighted in wearing the Cross of the Order which he received from the Grand Master in 1888, and that the British Court showed special regard towards subjects so decorated.

(3) A list of all the members of the Order is periodically published by its Chancery at Rome. The last one to hand is entitled, «Ruolo Generale del Sov. Mil. Ordine di S. Giovanni *detto* di Malta. Forzani E. C. Tipografi del Senato. Luglio 1910».

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APPENDIX I.

THE KNIGHTS AND THEIR BUILDINGS IN MALTA.

During the Middle Ages the trade of Malta centred round Birgu and the adjacent Castle, now known as Saint Angelo, which was the residence of the maritime representative of royal power. The central stronghold and seat of the local government, Mdina, afterwards called Notabile, provided for the defence of the island according to the requirements of the times and so far as local circumstances permitted. The Castle above mentioned, dominating the Harbour, and the watchmen (Wardija) at the harbour mouth afforded what protection was possible to maritime interests. In 1488 Fort St. Elmo, named after a chapel existing on the spot, was built at *Tarf il Ghases*, the extreme point of Mount Xeberras rising on the other side of the Harbour. The coasts of the island were guarded by a citizen force called *Mahares*. These coastguards signalled approaching vessels to the fortress of Notabile, and the *Dejma*, a citizen band of mounted men, and, in fact, the whole armed population, were always ready to withstand hostile aggression.

Birgu was thus the maritime centre nestling under the protection of the Castle referred to. Its houses were presumably of humbler proportions than those of the Maltese capital. Still, in 1530, Birgu was found sufficient to accommodate the Knights of the Eight Langues of the Order together with their numerous retinue, swelled out of all proportion by the Rhodiote refugees who had abandoned their island on its falling into the hands of the Turks in 1522.

Birgu had hitherto sufficiently met all exigencies as a port of traffic. Once it became the seat of a Military Order which dared to defy powers held at the time to be formidable, the need was felt of turning it into a stronghold fit to resist all aggression, and better able to meet its new responsibilities and the requirements of its increased heterogeneous popu-

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Giovanni Bichi, Grand Prior of Capua.

(From a painting by Rutilio Manetti in the Palace of the Marchese Bichi Ruspoli Forteguerri in Siena).

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lation. We thus find that more substantial walls were raised for its protection and that ample and more numerous buildings were erected to meet wants hitherto non-existent. The enclosed space, called in Rhodes the « Collaquium », within which the members of the Order were to reside, segragated from the rest of the population, had now to be substituted by the establishment of zones within which each party should separately dwell. There was a specially appointed commission intrusted with the renting of houses, but the difficulties met with at every step induced Lisleadam to create a «Tribunal of Houses» (17 November 1532), which was subsequently re-organised by La Valette (14th. October 1562).

The township enclosed within the strengthened walls had had its own ensign before to the arrival of the Order. It now assumed the prerogatives of a new municipality distinct from that of Notabile. Four jurats (aldermen), dependent from the Castellan, were annually elected to carry on the administration. The chiefs of the different guilds then recognised by law, called, after the Italian custom, «consuls», sat on the Municipal Board, and four out of the eight country parishes then existing in the island were included in it. The cities of Senglea, Cospicua and Valletta when afterwards built were comprised within the Municipality.

Birgu was probably the town which Ptolemy had indicated as the city on the Chersonesus whereof the promontory was occupied by the famed temple of Juno.

But even while still settling down in their new abode the difficulties, from the military point of view, of defending, as it then stood, their newly acquired station, preoccupied the Knights' attention. The elders of the Order in Chapter General assembled, on the 17th. of June 1558, decided that Mount Xeberras, the hill opposite the Castle, on the other side of the water, was to be fortified and a city built thereon which should consitute their future Convent. Thus early did they perceive that their primordial residence, with its lofty clock, erected by Gran Master de

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Paule, its «Infirmary», afterwards converted into the Nunnery of Sta. Scolastica, its Magisterial Palace, at present known as the «Armeria», its Episcopal and Inquisitor's Palaces, would have to be abandoned.

The siege of the Turks, in 1565, served but to disclose even more forcibly their perilous position and to hasten the execution of their longstanding project. Various schemes were studied by such eminent engineers as Francesco Laparelli of Cortona, Baldassare Lanci of Urbino, Bartolomeo and Baldassare Genza.

On the 22nd. of March 1566 it was decided to call the new city «Valletta», to perpetuate the name of the hero who had successfully withstood the siege. The first stone was laid on the 28th. day of that same month, and on the 13th. of February of the following year, one might say to commemorate the critical circumstances of its birth, the rising city received the title of *Humillima Civitas Vallettæ*.

Following the system practised in raising the fortifications of Birgu in 1531 and 1551, every inhabitant of Malta between the ages of 12 and 60 years gratuitously gave his labour in the formation of the works of defence. This obligation, commuted later on into a payment of one tarì per working day, was known as the *Neuba* (1).

A commission consisting of the three knights Xatmar Greyran and Salvago, and of three Maltese, Matteo Cassar, Giacomo Bonichi and Giuseppe R. Zimeg of Zebbug, verified, valued and expropriated the lands in the area destined for the new city. A register of 1568 drawn up by Notary Vincenzo Bonaventura de Bonetis records their proceedings.

The commission distributed the building area into blocks,--the blocks now existing, separated by the existing longitudinal and transverse streets. The price of two tarì per square cane was fixed for the building sites, and the plans and the building regulations were approved by the Chapter held on the 12th. of May 1569. The first sale of land took place on the 23rd July of the same year, in the deeds of

(1) Ms. 438, M. P. L.

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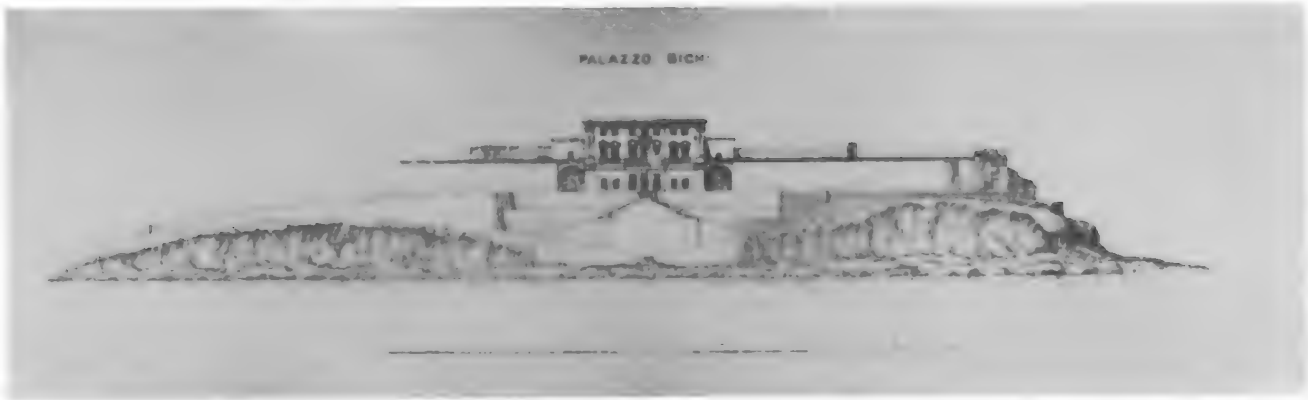
Bichi Palace and Villa



From a sketch of 1731.

Bichi Villa present state

R. Naval Hospital Bighi 1913.

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the Notary Placido Abela. The subsequent sales of building plots, up to 1578, are all entered in the deeds of the same Notary, and afterwards in those of Matteo Briffa, (1576-1589) and of Giacomo Sillato (1587-1591).

All attempts failed to restrict the habitations of the Knights within a given area. Even subsequent exhortations in the same sense by Popes Gregory XIII. (12 February 1583), and Urban VIII. (5 July 1624), remained unheeded. The Capitular Ordinances of 1598 and 1604 went so far as to prescribe the enclosure of a part of Valletta by means of a wall, twelve courses high and of the thickness of three spans, so as to form a reserved area for the residence of the members of the Order as formerly practised in Rhodes. These ordinances, however, likewise remained a dead letter.

A certain symmetry and unity of style was secured by forbidding the construction of yards, gardens, parapets, or flight's of steps, in front of dwellings. The requirements of hygiene were anticipated by making each house have a rock-cut tank for water and a cesspool with underground communication with the street sewer. Water-supply and sewage disposal were more extensively provided for at the installation of the Wignacourt Aqueduct (1615), and by the Sanitary Ordinances of the 17th. of March 1661. The measures subsequently taken for the same purpose during the government of Grand Master Rohan, may be said to have foreshadowed, from that early epoch, the necessity for the drainage system of our own days.

Solidity and power of resistance were guaranteed by the building material imposed, Malta free-stone, and by vaulted roofs in the underground cellars and *rez de chaussees*, —later on more strictly insisted upon on the advice of the engineer Renè Jacob de Tignè.

The characteristics of the Corporation contributed not

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a little to impart that aspect of severity coupled with magnificence and comfort which we still admire in many of the public and private buildings then erected. The gorgeous and majestic church of St. John, the Magisterial Palace, the Sacred Infirmary, the Auberges of the different Langues, all reflect, in their own way, the religious, sovereign, hospitaller and military ideals of the Order, so well interpreted by Girolamo Cassar, the Architect who conceived them.

The victualing and munitioning of the stronghold called for the erection of establishments so well adapted to their purpose that, in more cases than one, their utilization continues to this day. The old Arsenals of the Galleys, Ordnance Factory, Foundry, the various Armouries and Powder Magazines, the old Market Place, the old Slaughterhouse, have all been substituted by buildings better answering modern exigencies. The old Granaries, however set up for the storage of wheat, are still in use, and so are the Oil Vats and the many magazines built by Grand Masters Perellos, Manoel and Pinto, whilst the Knights' Bakery, besides baking bread, is now simultaneously grinding corn, a service formerly carried on in windmills on that part of the Valletta ramparts which still goes by the name of *Fuk l'Mtieħen* or «the Windmills».

The Bakery of the Order assumed such importance in the eyes of the public that the street in which it was placed soon lost its original name of Str. S. Sebastiano and became «Str. Forni»; just as the street in which the Mint of the Order was situated lost its original name of San Michele and was preferably called «Strada Zecca». Similar changes in nomenclatures of the streets were verified in the case of Str. S. Giacomo which, being patronised by shopkeepers, traders and merchants, became known as «Str. Mercanti»: Strada dei Greci, named after the Greek Uniate Church of St. Mary of Damascus, was changed into «Strada del Popolo», and afterwards into «Strada Vescovo», the Bishop's Palace being its most prominent feature. The only street, in fact, which has kept its original name is

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Paolo Raffaele Spinola, Prior of Lombardy.
(From a painting in the church of the "Abbazia Spinola" Malta.)

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Spinola Palace (Abbazia Spinola) St. Julians, Malta.

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Strada S. Paolo, so called after the Parish Church dedicated to the Great Apostle.

The Mint, the Falconry fronting it and overlooking the Manderaggio, the Pagery close by the Grand Master's Palace, the Slave Prison in Str. Cristoforo, the Castellany or Court of Justice in Str. Mercanti, opposite the Priorate of Castile, and even the Treasury, the Chancery, and the Custom-House all speak of the rule of the Order, and of the authority of its Chief in this small principality.

The many churches, some of them modified by Gafà and other architects and embellished with the paintings of Mattias Preti, the Monasteries and Nunneries, the Institutes and Asylums, the University and Colleges, the Public Library and Printing Establishment, the Monte di Pietà, the Municipal Hall, the Chamber of Merchants founded by Despuig (7th. December 1737) and revived by Rohan with the name of Chamber of Commerce, the Manoel Theatre which occupied the site of the Old Priorate of Navarre, the Cammerata, the Lower Barracca, of Castile, and the Upper Barracca, of Italy, the Maglio, were all set up by the Knights and still remain in name if not in actual use, as evidence of the interest and care taken by their Government.

To the southwest of Valletta the fortifications were extended so as to enclose, within an outer enceinte formed by high ramparts and deep ditches, the large open space having the Capuchin Convent on its edge. These outer fortifications were known by the name of Floriana, and the suburb which rose thereon was named Vilhena after the reigning Grand Master. This enclosed area was intended to shelter the country people, under tents and in huts, in case of siege, and thereby to preserve Valletta from excessive overcrowding and the danger of infection.

When Floriana was thus strengthened, when Vittoriosa Senglea and Burmola, with their castles of St. Michael, St. Margaret and St. Angelo, had been better protected by the

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huge ramparts known as the Cotonera Lines, when Forts Ricasoli, Manoel, and Tigne, commemorating the munificence of the Balì Gio. Francesco Ricasoli, of Grand Master Manoel and of the Balì Renè Jacob de Tigné,—nephew to the engineer of the same name,—had been built, the defence works which the military intelligence of Catholic Europe had devised, were complete. The rock and harbour of Malta were thus made proof against all contemporary aggression.

The Engineer Valperga drew up the plans for the Floriana suburb with its streets enfiladed by and in full view of the ramparts of Valletta; here houses were to have no cellars, to have single walls, and as to height and other requisites, were to be subject to military exigencies. These plans were approved in 1724. The key-plans for Senglea and Cospicua had precedently been regulated on the same principles.

As the occupation of the Island by the Order acquired consistency stately mansions, well-appointed houses, villas and gardens cropped up everywhere. Wealthy knights were not loth to prove their attachment to the Order by the acquisition of real property in the island for the foundation of new Commanderies. The old Maltese fiefs which had been mostly incorporated by the Grand Masters, may be said to have been substituted by these foundations.

Lisleadam took up his residence in St. Angelo, and held an unpretentions house at Notabile. When La Valette assumed the magisterial office, he built himself a palace at Birgu, and, to give scope to his physical energies, a shooting box amids the sylvan beauties of the Boschetto valley. This property he acquired, in 1559, from the noble family of Surdo in exchange for one fourth part of the fief of Benuarrat (or Burmarrat). The palace on the hill-top overlooking the Boschetto Valley was subsequently built by Grand Master Verdala, who took the site in exchange from the Bishop.

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The Bali Giò Francesco Ricasoli.

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The great distance of this pleasure resort from the business centre, induced Grand Master De Paule to set up a Belvedere and game preserve at Corradino. This Grand Master Manoel turned into a stud. De Paule also laid the St. Antonio Gardens so called after the his Christian name. The lodge adjoining these gardens, proved an agreeable residence to the English Commander during the troublous times of 1799, and, subsequently, to Louis Bonaparte and to British and foreign princes.

Fort Lascaris and the Saluting Battery occupy the site of the villa of Grand Master Lascaris Castellar, whose austerity and alertness made him loth to step out of the strict limits of the Convent.

The Palazzo Leoni, in the San Giuseppe Road, was Manoel's country-house. We have evidence of Manoel's wealth and benevolence in Fort Manoel, in the Institute for poor girls, now used as Central Civil Hospital, in the Old Hospital for Invalids, and in the Magisterial Palace at Notabile, now Connaught Hospital.

In Valletta we have the Hotel Perellos, in Str. Reale, which afterwards became the residence of the Chevalier De la Salles. There was also the Hotel of the Cotoners in Str. Cristoforo, that of the Caraffas and of Hompesch, both in Str. Forni. The owners of all these houses eventually became Grand Masters.

Hompesch's house had been built by the Balì Antonio Correa de Sousa (1689). It is now occupied by the Marchese Scicluna. At the other end of the same block in Str. Forni lies the Rospigliosi Palace, now converted into a school—Flores' College — In Str. Mezzodì there is still the Demandolx mansion,—which passed to the State the at death of the Balì Balthasar (1667)- and that of the Balì Caumons (1679), both at a short distance from the Auberge de France.

The present town residence of the Admiral Commander-

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in-Chief, was formerly known as the house of the Balì Ramon Sousa y Silva, or of the Commander François Petit de la Guerche, both of whom lived in it, or it went by the name of its original builder, the Knight de Subiran Arfat, Commander of the Artillery. The adjoining house was the «Casa Scoglia», now Strickland, and the «Palazzo Guadagni» near-by has recently been substituted by the West End Buildings.

Most streets in Valletta still show old buildings whose protruding cornices recall memories of the past. The present *Main Guard*, on the Palace Square, with the old Chancery of the Order (now Garrison Library) at its side, was built in 1603 and enlarged in 1661 by the addition of the house of theVice Chancellor Gio Otto Bosio. An inscription on the of the Main Guard records the cause for which the sovereignty of Malta passed to Great Britain. Overlooking the same square lies the «Hostel de Verdelin» erected by the Grand Commander Jean Baptiste de Verdelin as a primogeniture for knights of his family (1660). The family of Ventimiglia, with the same object, took a house in Str. Reale, in exchange for the property on which the Palazzo Parisio was afterwards built. This latter palace, now converted into General Post Office, was the abode of Bonaparte during his stay in the Island (1798). The old palace of the de Brittos at the corner of Str Teatro and Str. Ponente has disappeared, and been replaced by a set of flats. The Auberge of Germany close by, had previously met the same fate. It was pulled down to make room for the Anglican Church opposite the Auberge d'Aragon. The Balì Antonio Alvaro Pinto owned that fine mansion up to 1764, the Balì Antonio Puget St. Marc (1664) and the Grand Bailiff, the chief of the German Langue, Jean Christophorus ab Andalau (1638), had been Pinto's predecessors. The «Casa Landolina» still stands in Strada Mercanti, opposite the old Polverista block, destined so far back as 1570, for the Auberge of England, until the time when Grand Master Nicholas Cotoner transferred the powder factory to Floriana and raised buildings on that

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block, whereof one is now used as place of worship by the Greek Orthodox community. The town residence of the Spinolas, in Str. Reale, is now occupied by a philharmonic society. The Admirals Paolo Raffaele and Giovan Battista Spinola and their relations, sought also to provide for the scions of their family an honourable subsistence in the territory of the Order by founding the Abbacy of the Immaculate Conception at St. Julians' where the Villa they built, now used as a Military Hospital, still bears their name.

It was quite fitting that the property of the militant Hospitallers should hand down their names to somewhat analogous modern institutions. One may surmise that the descendants of the house of Bichi are content that the Villa Bichi has been turned to its present use. This sumptuous seaside mansion, built by the Balì Giovanni Bichi — who commanded the fleet of his uncle Pope Alexander VIII,—impressed Bonaparte as suitable for a Lazzaretto, and was turned by the British, at Nelson's suggestion, into their finest Naval Hospital in the Mediterranean. Possibly the Knight Jacques F. de Chambray repined at having spent so much money on the fort bearing his name at Migiarro, Gozo — If so, his shade should now feel relief at seeing the Fort used as a Hospital and Barracks. One might almost suspect that the Old Castle of that Island—repaired at an outlay of forty-thousand ducats, given by the King of Spain in 1598—now casts envious looks at Chambray. The old Gozo citadel dominated the once flourishing municipality of Rabat. It was garrisoned by some 15 or 20 Knights (1559-1603), and enjoyed in Aragonese times the unenviable distinction of being the privileged abode of the Jews.

Some of the property of the commanderies founded in Malta may still be indentified. In Valletta the houses 205 to 210 St. Reale formed part of the Commandery «Lomellina», others in the same street, near the Santa Barbara Chapel, belonged to the Commandery «Preziosi».

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The property at 180 to 182, Str. S. Paolo, 147 to 150 Str. S. Nicola, 50 and 60 Str. Stretta, 51 and 52 Str. Teatro, and 173 Str. Forni belonged to the «Trissina» Commandery. To the «Bagnani» Commandery belonged the houses 140 to 142 Str. S. Lucia and another house in Str. S. Ursola. Several houses in Str. Tesoreria and amongst them the Casa «Piot» formed part of the Commandery «Malandrina». The «Gironda» Commandery owned a house in Str. S. Giovanni, that of «Nizza» one in Str. Britannica, and that of «Plagnes» several houses in Str. Zecca. Several storehouses at the Marina were the property of the «Tabone» Commandery. The «Fiteni» Commandery, besides several magazines in Strada S. Lucia, owned property at Mosta, adjoining the little church of St. Silvestro, the patron Saint of the founder, Silvestro Fiteni. The «Ildaris» Commandery in 1747 owned a fine house with church attached and laid grounds at Floriana, in the garden set up in 1678 by the Knight Giovanni Minucci.

The Maglio at Floriana was originally an enclosure reserved for the athletic sports of the Knights; the Argotti was the pleasure resort of the Balì Ignatius Argotte. The latter garden, was owned, before Argotte, by Grand Master Pinto whilst still Chancellor, and by Balì Telles Its original name was «Vergens Garden». To the left of these gardens and beyond the Capuchin Convent there was formerly the Villa of the Balì Fabrizio Franconi (1739) which, after having been turned into a Mad-house, was subsequently demolished. The name, however, in the popular imagination, remained connected with the asylum for the insane, and notwithstanding that these unfortunates have for the last fifty years been relegated to the modern and more appropriate institution at *Wied Incita*, to the new establishment the people still affix the name of the old Balì!

The «Sa Maison» garden stands on the western edge of Floriana, and near it lies the Hospital Cemetery blessed on the 28th. April, 1778. The establishment of this

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Cemetery was the first step towards the prohibition of intra-mural burials. The Government of the Knights paid great attention to public health. Grand Master Lascaris (1650) had caused two marshes at Marsa, which generated malaria, to be drained and reduced to cultivable land. The fish-ponds in the same district were also drained and filled up between 1772-1795. The Lazaretto, originally established in the Great Harbour, first at Rinella, and then at Cordin and at the Old Custom House (Barriera), was re-organised by Lascaris (1643), and subsequently placed by Rohan on the islet within the Marsamuscetto Harbour. Rohan took particular interest in hygiene. He caused the Valletta drainage to be renewed when the street pavements were relaid with lava from Vesuvius—a work which had been ordered so far back as 1770 by Grand Master Pinto.

Few houses belonging to knights are to be met with in the open country. By their rules members of the Order were precluded from living outside the town limits without license. They could not alienate their rural property unless specially authorized. Any contravention to this law was punished by the incorporation of such property with the Magisterial lands. De Redin, among others, enforced his rights in this regard in 1658.

Alof de Wignacourt, on the 5th. May 1620, sought the consent of his Council to grant on long lease four gardens which had thus been incorporated with the Magisterial lands:—one, a garden at Hal Lia, formerly belonging to the Knight Gaspard de Monreal; two at Senglea formerly owned by the Knight Pietro la Rocca and by the Balì Caraffa, (the latter still recorded in the name of Str. della Sirena); and the fourth, later known by the name of San Giuseppe, near the Bugeja Institute, was indicated by the old name of the district in which it was situated, namely of Hal Caprat or San Bartolomeo. In this latter garden, the Commander Eugenio Ramirez Maldonato had built a small church and country-house, now enlarged and used by the Bonnici Institute. During

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the blockade of Valletta this place became the Head-Quarters of the Maltese forces and was called by the Maltese soldiers, as formerly by those of the Order, the «Camp» of San Giuseppe.

Not far from this spot, on the main road in the «Atocia» district, was the house of the Balis Blacas, reproduced on canvas by Favray, the well known painter. The Balì Carneiro had likewise inhabited this house. Carneiro's name is connected with the palace in Valletta, raised over the Forfici at the back of the old slaughterhouse, which became in 1784 the Anglo-Bavarian Auberge. The Villa Blacas, with its grounds of sixteen tumuli of land, gained notoriety from the death of the Knight Silvanus Bosredon de Vantages, nephew to the famous Ransajat, during the tragical events of September 1798. The building is now occupied by the Little Sisters of the Poor.

A few similar buildings lie scattered here and there over the island. The Palazzo Guarena at Krendi, named after the Balì Pier Guarena Rovero. At Zurriek, near Bubakra, there is the house built by the Commander James Tuyares y Valençuela. At Naxxar, the Palace of the Knight Paolo Parisio, embellished by Grand Master Jimenes, and turned into a gorgeous abode by its present owners, the Marchesi Scicluna. Still more out of the way, on the top of a wild promontory, the Selmun Palace, commemorates the institution of the «Monte» for the Redemption of Slaves. Caterina Vitale bequeathed the whole of that territory, including the islet over which stands the statue of St. Paul, for this laudable object The islet referred to, so far back as 1649, was granted to the Knight Miguell Torrellos y Semenat, Prior of Catalogna, as a preserve for rabbit-shooting.

Marco Demaria, the Maltese Pilot, was given this very same islet for his lifetime and that of his children, by Grand Master del Monte, in reward for a fine feat of seamanship performed by him. Demaria, whilst hotly pursued

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by an enemy vessel, deftly navigated his galley through the narrows between the islet and the mainland, and caused his pursuer to be wrecked on the treacherous breakers. But we have roamed long enough about the island in search of reminiscences of the Order.

The buildings belonging to the heroic epoch of the Order display quite a Doric austerity, if indeed they do not carry the impress of the style of architecture brought over by the Knights from Rhodes.

The Spartan ideals of the Order embodied in the emblems of courage and temperance are not at all alien to the style of architecture of the Maltese buildings (1).

(1) See on the Maltese buildings, A. De Lamartine, Souvenirs, Paris 1835 pp. 76 and foll.

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APPENDIX II

SIR JOHN BABINGTON'S "SPOILS" AND DISPOSAL OF KNIGHTS' PROPERTY.

The "spoils" of the Bailiff of Eagle (see pp. 49 and 56) whereof the Receiver's Report is given in full at the end of this Appendix, offer an example of the way in which the Order became the statutory heir of the professed Knight of Malta in respect of that part of his estate of which he had not disposed before making his profession in religion. This was in virtue of the Canon law «Quidquid acquirit Monacus, monasterio acquirit». The declaration of expropriation usually made by the Knights was not so much a testament as a statement of assets and liabilities to serve as guide in the framing and checking of their "spoils". Thus, the declaration of expropriation made by Sir John Kendal, Grand Prior of England, in the deeds of Notary William Ylton, on the 14th. of February 1501, was held by the Council of the Order at Rhodes, on the 8th. of February 1503, to be null and void, inasmuch as Sir John had acted against the statutes by appointing heirs and making bequests (1).

The property left by Knights was subject to most varied distribution. Primogenitures and entails went back to the family of the deceased. Part of the estate accrued to the bailiwick or commandery he held, the appurtenances of which, duly verified on the inventory drawn up in connection with the statement of improvements (2), were increased by the addition of the goods and chattels of the deceased. The remainder, after payment of debts, passed to the Common Treasury. The Common Treasury had come to substitute the Knight's Langue and the Grand Master in view of what was laid down at the death of

(1) Vol. 79. Liber Cons. Ann. 1501 2 fol. 107t.
(2) On improvements or *meliorments* see pp. 153-58.

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Grand Master Mendes de Vasconcellos (1623) (1).

The «spoils» of the Knight John Scott gave occasion to litigation between the Tongue of England and the Langue of France, as Scott had gained admission in both. The Council of the Knights, on 10th. October 1537, decided in favour of the Tongue of England in which Scott had initially been admitted.

Then Church furniture went to the Commandery chapels or to the Conventual Church. Books, in terms of the decision of the Chapter General of 1612, confirmed by the Council on 22nd March 1649, passed to the Library of the Chaplains' Assembly. Arms, except swords and daggers, were sent to the Public Armoury. The chargers, coaches and sedan-chairs of knights who died in the Convent belonged to the Grand Master. Birds with their cages, dogs, and bâtons of command became the property of the Ball Marshal. During the early epochs the Grand Master succeded in the property of the knights attached to his household and of the knights of Magisterial grace, and priors bailiffs and commanders entered in the property of the Chaplains of Obedience according to their office and residence.

At the death of Sir John Langstrother, Prior of England, the Grand Master claimed his «spoils», as Langstrother had been his Senescal. The Council admitted the claim (29th. August 1471) (2).

It was the duty of the «Receivers» of the Order to collect and seal the property of the knights who died out of the Convent. In Malta the duty devolved on the «Commissioners of Spoils», a tribunal, set up in 1556, formed by one or two knights assisted by a lawyer.

The work performed by this tribunal may be judged

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(1) By decision of the Chapter General of 1229 the «spoils» of commanders of the Magisterial camere went to the Grand Master, and by Order of the Chapter General of 1298 the «spoils» of other commanders went to Priors.

(2) Vol. 74. Lib. Cons. Ann. 1479-72 p. 77

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from three volumes of decisions, (1669-1798), preserved in the Archives of the Order in the Public Registry Office (2), from 71 volumes of files of spoils, (1582-1750), deposited in the Archives of the Inquisitors of Malta, and from many others in the same place. There are instances in which, owing either to the claims of creditors or to the size of the estate, the records of the procedings fill a whole volume, as in the case of a Prior of Bohemia, of the Knights Chigi (V. 950), Barbieri (V. 951), of Count Leopold Herberstein (V. 948), and of the Balì of Lesa, D. Joachim Britto, who died in Malta in 1797.

Special rules, revived by a Committee on the 25th. October 1670, regulated the proceedings to be followed in regard to «spoils», and laid down what should be retained in each commandery in view of its situation and importance. The Commandery of Hebbenfier in the Priorate of Bohemia, for instance, was kept in a better condition and was more richly furnished than others, because the Emperor used to repair to it for the chase and to spend some time there with a great part of his Court. For somewhat analogous reasons Clerkenwell was kept on a grander style than the other commanderies and mansions of the English Knights. One may form an idea of the value of the plate of this latter Priory from the valuation made at the death of a Grand Prior and inventoried as «Plate, gilt 9562 ½ oz., parcel gilt 1,903 ½ oz». besides the church plate, which at the dissolution (1540) the King's Treasurer acknowledged to have received, «in gilt plate weighing with stones, birralles and glases 1281 ounces and in white plate 1654 ounces» not including Gospel books and other volumes bound in silver. The furniture of Hampton Court Manor given, on the 12th January 1514, on a 99 years' lease to Cardinal Wolsey, consisted among other articles of the following: «bedsteddis in oll XXti, eleven tourned chyars. In the parlour a table of estriche bourde with ii tristells. In the hall ij tables

(1) Vol. 945, 946, 947.

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dormant and a long table with ij tristelle, a close cupboard iiij fourmes, iiij barres of yron about the harthe... (1).

As to house furniture it was classified into, «necessary», «superfluous», and «precious». Chattels subservient to agriculture, such as carts, barrows, agricultural implements, together with cans, casks and other gear connected with vineyards and pasture lands were to remain in the manor, and articles of use and service of the knight, such as blankets, beds, bed covers and state furniture, pantry and kitchen furniture, were not to form part of the «spoils».

Black cattle and small cattle, not including chargers and saddle— horses, — which, out of the Convent, were sold to the benefit of the Treasury,—were equally divided between the commandery and the Treasury. Of the «superfluous» furniture, one half was likewise left in the commandery or house in which it was found, so that, if, for instance, one hundred chairs were found whereof only 40 originally belonged to the house, one half of the remainder was left there also, or, in all 70 chairs.

All «precious» furniture, including plate, was sold to the benefit of the Treasury. The Langue of Germany kept for its commanderies the plate found in them at the death of the commanders, and the newly vested commander was bound to pay to the Treasury one third of the value of such plate, at the rate of eight gold florins per mark (2), and to give surety against its being disposed of,—which, nevertheless, occasionally happened. A part of the plate of the Prior of England Sir Thomas Docwra was only got hold of by the Receiver on behalf of the Treasury after years, in 1533 (3). Docwra's executor,

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(1) Porter. Knights of Malta. London. 1883. p 752.

(2) By resolution of the 1st. December 1668 the Treasury valued the mark at 7 scudi and 9 tarì of Sicilian silver.

(3) A note in the accounts of receipts for the year 1533 mentions that the gold and silver vessel, valued pounds 87-8-4 sterling, belonging to the late Prior Sir Thomas Docwrey or Docwra, had been

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Mr. Francis Bell, only received his discharge from the Treasury by warrant of the 23rd. April 1532, owing to the Treasury having remained Docwra's creditor in between nine and ten thousand scudi (1).

The plate being the personal property of Sir John Babington, is indicated in the accounts of the «spoils» here given.

Babington died on 10th. January 1533 whilst holding the Bailiwick of Eagle and the two commanderies, of Dalby and Rotheley, and of Templebreuer.

The first account rendered by Sir Ambrose Cave for the Receiver of England, refers to cash found, £330-4-9.— Credits amounted to: Annual produce, Eagle £45, Dalby £102-8, Templebreuer £71, and, Value of articles sold, £745-16-4. Against all of which stood: Payments including salaries, £17-1, funerals £4-16, upkeep and servants £38-9, Executor's expenses £38-17-4.

The supplementary account shows additional receipts to the amount of £1287 from sales of other articles, land produce, cattle and jewellery, subject to a defalcation of £284-17-1 representing, among other items, £30 due to the State on the Bailiwick of Eagle, £80 on that of Templebreuer, £59 paid in excess in respect of the furniture of Dalby and Rotheley, besides the furniture still in the hands of Manfred Babington.

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recovered during that year through the efforts of Grand Prior W. Weston and of the Knight Receiver.

«Item sex crateris argenteis auratis cum coronula pondo unc. CCLXV. precium uncie—iiiis. ... liii.li.

«Item pro duabus amplis lagenis argenteis ptim auratis pondo unc CLIX—precium uncie IIIs. IXd. que sex crateri et lagene vendite fuerunt Roberto Trapps aurifabro xxixli.xvis.iiid.

«Item V.dus frater Johes Rawson Turcopullerius debet pro gutturino argenteo pondo unciarum quadraginta ut supra». *Ms. 926*, M.P.L.

(1) Vol. 415 L. Bull. an. 1531-34. p. 231t.

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Computus ve.lis fr.is Ambrosii Cave procuratoris gen.alis co.is thesauri tam de pecunia numerata cathenis aureis vasis argenteis ac auratis qm de redditu baiulivatus Aquilae preceptoriarum de Dalby Rotheley et Templebuer et aliis quibuscumque que per ipm receptorem collecte fuere post obitum ve.di fris Johis Babington dcti bajulivatus et preceptoriarum dum vixit legittimi possessoris qui obiit apud ip.m bajulivatum decimo die mensis Januari anno 1533 et annus mortuarius terminabitur in festo Nativitatis sancti Johis bapte anno 1534. Et hic computus redditus est d. receptori fri Johanni Sutton qui dum hic per procuratorem recepta et collecta fuerunt ille tunc abfuerat regno missus ad R.dum D.um et ad ip.ius ve.m Consilium tam de consensu r.di d.ni prioris quam aliorum qui religioni optime consultum cupibant ob grave idque arduum quidem religionis negocium.

In primis quidem D. procurator onerat se de quadam summa pecunie numerate comperte apud dictum baiulivatum immediate post obitum	cccxxx.*li* iiii.s ix.d
Item de precio pecudum diversi speciei vendite Clementi Cave et Tanfelde	xxxv.*li*
Item de precio equorum aparatus et vasorum argent. eidem domino procuratori retentorum	xxxiv.*li* viii.s iii.d
Item de precio pecudum vendit. Roberto Husey militi	lxxvi.*li*—vi.d
Item de xxvi*li*. xiiis. iiiid. eidem Roberto per d.m Bajulivum prestite	xxvi.*li* xiii.s iiii.d
Item de pecunia recuperata de Thoma hunt et aliis.	ii.s vi.d
Item de candelis et melle veditis	ii.s vi.d
Item de redditu Baiulivatus hujus anni —xliii*li*. v.s—Et deDalby et Rotheley tunc —x*li*. xs. iiid. recept. de Rco. Robinson post redditum comp.tum 102/18/5/. Et de Templebruer 71/2/4. sive	ccxvii.*li* v.s ix.d
Sm. totalis	—vii^{c}xlv*li*. xvi.s iiii.d

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De quibus— Liberate per eumdem d.um procuratorem fri Johni Mableston cciiiii^{xx}xix*li* xvi^{s} vi.d

Item liberatis d.no receptori tribus vicibus cccxlvi*li* xixs. v.d

Item solut. per eundem d.um procuratorem servientibus et famulis baiulivi salaria sive stipendia ipsis debita ut distincte per computum inde redditum apparet. xvii*li* xix.d

Item solute similiter per eundem in p.tem expensarum funeralium iiii*li* xvi.s

Item solute diversis tam pro certis ac clare constantibus debitis et pro expensis reparacionum necessariarum confeccione scriptur. ac aliorum multorum qm ad sustentacionem familie apud Aquilam et templebruer et pro salariis advocatorum procurator. lege peritor. et auditor. ut distinctius apparet per computum ipsius dni procuratoris xxxviii*li* ix.s

Item pro necessariis sumptibus et expensis ipsius dni. procuratoris pluries Londinum venientis et ibi diuturno tempore urgente religionis causa (dnus. receptor generalis aberat) detenti uti magis ex separata supputacione quam pre manibus presto liqueat fueratque ad nonnulla alia loca plurimo distantia sepe evocatus tam ad visendas preceptorias qm. ad statum ipsarum illic considerrandum. xxxviii*li* xiii.s iiii.d

Sm. omnium et singulorum que dns procurator tradidit et liberavit tam dno receptori et fri Johanni Mableston qm eorum que diversis personis ut sup. notatur solute una cum suis expensis vii^{c} xlv*li* xvi.s iii.d

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Item dns procurator tradidit absente receptore, manibus fris. Johis Mableston plura vasa argentea ac alia quedam apprime existimanda de quibus omnibus dns. receptor suo computo rationem reddet

Item frater Joh.is Rowson baiulivus Aquile debet pro equo castrato xxvi.s viii.d

Item ve.lis frater Thomas Dingley debet pro duobus equis—Liii.s iiiid. et pro veste fereci villosi fusti coloris et pro tunica eiusdem coloris et serici iii*li*, vis. viiid. Et idem petit sibi allocari et concedi pro suis expensis equitando Londino ad ipm baiulivatum Aquile immediate post obitum baiulivi intellectum mandato r.di prioris pro rebus illic omnibus tuto considerandis—iii.*li* vs. xd. Et sic debet—Liiiis. iid.

Compotus ve.lis dni receptoris de his omnibus quae deinde ad manus ipsius pervenerunt tam de bonis spolii relictis per dm. procuratorem apud Aquilam et inventis apud Templebrewer ac alibi q.m etiam de redditibus Baiulivatus ac preceptoriarum praedictarum quae per prefatum d. procuratorem minime receptae fuerunt

In primis oneratur tam de centum ovibus castratis et uno equo spadone ac una equa venditis Nicho. Sutton--xi.li xvis. $o_{\frac{1}{2}}^{s}$ de viginti saccis vocatis quarterijs vilioris frumenti venditis petro et rogero cawdwyn—iiili. xiiis. iiiid. Et de precio annone brasii et fabarum per economum Aquilae vendit.- xi.li xis. xd. Ac de precio diversi generis piscium apud aquileam vendit. Liis. Et de sex caballis vendit. per Johem Badkyn xxxs. } xxxi*li* iii^{s} ii^{d}

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Item oneratur de precio hordei avene et pisarum que dum adhuc segetes erant per ipsum ibm vendite fuerunt. — xiiii*li* xiiii^{s} viii^{d}

Item de octo quarterijs et quinque modiis tritici decem quarteriis et quatuor modijs secatis duabus quarteriis et quatuor modijs mixti frumenti et de octuaginta quarteriis et uno modio brasii ibm in granario repertis ac per dnum receptorem venditis. — xvii*li* xiji^{s} x^{d} obq.

Item de precio multigenere animalium ibm compertorum et per eundem dnum receptorem venditis vz. decem et octo boum qui tunc aratro inserviebant novem decem vaccarum et unius tauri unius equi masculi trium caballorum iam tum senio attritor. unius equili annalis equarum trium unius porci stropharum quatuor porcellorum annalium quatuor ac decem et octo aliarum vaccarum que Londinum destinate fuere. — xxxi*li* ix^{s} viii^{d}

Item oneratur de pretio sexcentorum septuaginta duarum ovium castratarum trecentarum quadraginta femelar. centum quadraginta annalium sex veterum castratorum arietum novemdecem agnorum tercentorum quadraginta duorum — cv*li* iiii^{d}

Item de precio lane dictarum ovium recepto priusquam ipsae alienabantur — xi*li* vii^{s} vi^{d}

Item onerat se de trecentis quadraginta sex libris xix solidis denar. v receptis ut supra in compoto d.ni procuratoris. — cccl.vi*li* xix^{s} v^{d}

Item de ducentis nonaginta novem libr. sexdecem solid. undecim denar. receptis de eodem dn.o procuratore per manus fri.s Johis Mableston, de viginti libr. receptis de fre Guilelmo Armystede

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ac de quatuor libr. receptis de Hugone Lewys — cccxxiii*li* xvi^{s} xi^{d}

Item receptis de fre Johe Mableston post comptum ipsius redditum de omnibus que ipse nomine et ad usum dti. vdi baiulivi recepit tam de redditibus preceptorie de dymnor quam de aliis quibuscumque a die vigesimo maii 1529 usque in diem obitus ipsius baiulivi octuaginta novem libr. quinque solid. quatuor denar. obolos quinque sive — iiii^{xx}ix*li* v^{s} iiii^{d} obq.

Item de una pelve cum gutturino argenteo pondo unc. ciii.-de pr.um unciae 3/8d.—xviiili. xixs. vi. de sex scutellis argenteis ptm auratis 3/9 unc. — xlviii dd.—£9-1-9 et pro sex acetabulis argenteis unc 27 de precio unc 3/8--£5.0.5. pro duodecim patellis argenteis unc. cccxxxiiii, precium unc. 3/8,—£61-4-8. pro xii vasis argent. unc. 97—pr.tium unc. 3|8d.—£36 2-4. pro ciatho argen. et aurato unc. 23 qto, pretium unc. 4/- —£-4-13. pro quatuor candelabr. argent. unc. 50, precium unc. 3/8—£9-5-2. pro parvula lagena argent. unc. 45.–precium unc. 3/9–£8 8·7. pro xii quadris unc. 96 vendit. dno. priori £ 17.12. pro duabus ollis argenteis unc —10. 5. 4. — ccciii^{xx}*li* xv^{s} iiii^{d}

Item de precio quatuor ollarum cum una coronula unc. 19. — £3-11-6. Item de precio alterius pelvis cum gutturino argent. unc 88.--4/8 le unc—£ 16. 2. 8. Et pro uno ciatho alto una cum sua corona aurata unc 21–a 4/- le unc.—£-4-4. Et pro uno ponilo cooperto aurato ad serviciam unc. xii q.t.—4/- le unc. 49/- et protribus cratheris cum coronula partim aurat. unc.94.—at 3/9 le unce—£17.12.6 — xl.iii*li* xix^{s} viii^{d}

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Item solute diversis personis hic expressis quibus ipse baiulivus tempore obitus sui ere alieno obnoxius fuerat preter supradicta omnia vz Briano Chaser de London. —xiiis iiiid. fabroferrareo apud Scarle manenti xviii^{s} iiii^{d}

Item exposite in expensis litis et salariis lege peritorum pro certis bonis recuperandis et pro aliis retinendis que ad hoc spolium pertinuerunt. v*li* iiii^{s} vi^{d}

Item d.ns receptor petit sibi allocari et defalcari de summa predicta pro suis necessariis sumptibus et expensis venendo una cum sua comitiva ex preceptoria sua de Willinghton Londinum ubi moram necessario fecerat gra consultandi et tractandi in pluribus bona hujus v.di baiulivi concernentibus a decimo quinto die maii anno 1534 in quartum diem Augusti sequentis xvii*li* vi^{s} vii^{d}

S.m igitur omnium que d.ns receptor petit sibi allocari et concedi cciiii^{xx} iii*li* xvi^{s} i$^{\overline{a}}$

Et sic remanet clare ad usum co.is thesauri de bonis hujus spolii una cum redditibus debitis pro anno mortuario ut supra vz. de hiis omnibus que hactenus ad manus d.ni receptoris pervenerunt M^{l}viii*li* iiii^{s}x^{d} obq.

Nota quod sunt nonnulli alii honeste condicionis ac probitatis viri qui fide media ac iurisjurandi religione adfirmant plurima sibi per ipsum ven.dm dominum baiulivum debita et precipue sunt qui

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titulo proprietatis vendicant ea omnia animalia quae apud preceptoriam de Templebreur comperta fuere cum quibus hactenus nihil certi transitione convenire potest

Nota etiam qd. predictus dns preceptor exonerat se de duabus lagenis argenteis pondo unciarum ciii$^{x}_{x}$ iii^{dd} que de consensu et expressa voluntate d.ni prioris et D. Darewe apud hanc regiam maiestatem legatoris munere tunc fungentis dono date fuere.

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APPENDIX III.

THE ORDER TO-DAY.

By Letters Patent of the 2nd. April 1557 Queen Mary granted to the Prior and Brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England a common seal, and name, style and dignity to its knights, restoring to them practically all their ancient privileges and prerogatives. At page 209 of this work, reference is made to the translation of Mary's Charter given by Porter. Other documents expounding that Charter, are published in this Appendix for the first time from the original parchments preserved in the Malta Public Library. Mary's Charter has been held not to have lapsed because it has never been actually revoked. In fact the establishment of the non-Catholic branch of the Order in England was based on this belief. The constitution granted by the Charter of Queen Victoria is framed upon that of Queen Mary, and preserves to the members the name which the Hospitallers bore at the time of Henry VIII, and Mary Tudor viz., «Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem», as distinguished from the «Knights» of the Kingdom.

The English branch of the Order was not the only one which for local and political reasons fell off from the main body. The segregation of the Teuton Knights and their constitution into an autonomous body independent from the Grand Master and subject to the Prussian Crown preceeded the secession of the Anglican branch. The Knights of the Bailiwick of Brandenburg had long refused to pay Responsions to the Convent and to acknowledge dependence from the Holy See, till, in 1382, they secured the faculty of themselves electing their own chief, subject only to the approval of the Grand Prior of Germany (1). Luther's Reformation fomented the further disgregation of these rebellious members from the main body. After 1543 the Bailiwick split up into that of Brandenburg-Dottenburg and that of Sonnenburg.

(1) De la Ville Le Roulx, Cartulaire.

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The Priorate of Bohemia, another important constituent of the Langue of Germany, had, since 1452, strained relations with the Order, especially owing to Royal interference in the election of Commanders. The religious-political movement which followed made it sunder its connection altogether. In 1559 the Priorate returned to Magisterial obedience (1), minus some of its commanderies in Silesia and one in Wratislaw, which later on passed to Prussia, by the Peace of Breslaw (1742) and by that of Dresden (1746).

The non-Catholic branch of the Teuton Knights was habitually presided over by a Prince of the Royal House of Prussia (2). The correspondence between Frederick the Great and Ferdinand of Prussia, the latter himself vested with the Bailiwick, and the Grand Master in Malta, shows the concern of the separated Teutons to maintain cordial relations with the Order (3). Ferdinand paid the ordinary contributions to the Malta Treasury (4), and on the occasion of the Chapter General, held in Malta in 1776, caused Baron Hompesch (later on Grand Master) to be his representative (5) and the representative of his Bailiwick. On the 13th. February 1777 Ferdinand wrote to Rohan « vivement je desire de me rapprocher toujours d'avantage de la Mère commune en sort qu'il n'y aie que la déference de religion qui distingue mon Prieuré, de ceux qui professent la Religion Catholique (6).

The German branch was eventually suppressed and its property incorporated first by the Rhenish Confederation on 12th. July 1806, and then by the King of Bavaria on the 8th. September 1808. On 12th. January 1811. Ferdinand passed to the State the

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(1) v L. B. an. 1559 61 ff. 201-206; v L. B. an. 1579-81 f. 265.
(2) J. G. Dienemann, Joanniter Orden. Berlin 1767 pp. 115.
(3) Vol. 1522 Letter 24. 3 1760; V. 1579 pp. 29 and 31.
(4) Vol. 1577 f. 139. (A. D. 1755); V. 768 Contratti Tesoro f. 194f.
(5) V. 1206. f. 86.
(6) V. 1206. f. 252.

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Bailiwick of Brandenburg Sonnenburg which on 23rd. May 1812 was declared to be extinct, and on the same day re-constituted under new auspices (1). Frederick William IV, on the 15th. October 1853, quashed the edict of 1812 and set up anew the ancient Bailiwick of Sonnenburg, which is now called the *Johannister Orden* in contradistinction to the *Malteser* of the Catholics. The Johannisters wear the octagonal Cross over the Eagle, in the same fashion as the English wear it over the Lion.

These British and Teuton knights separated from the Grand Master resident in Rome, have, like the associations of the Catholic knights, flourishing and well-organised ambulance services ready for emergencies. In 1913, the old guard room over Porta Reale, Valletta, was converted into the St. John's Ambulance Station in Malta, flying the white cross on red ground. The old name and the cross with the fleurs-de-lys is retained by the old corporation of the Knights of Malta, to which on 28th. March 1879 Pope Leo XIII restored the Grand Mastership.

This corporation now consists of Italian, Austrian and French Knights, to which the Spaniards were added in September 1885, by King Alphonso's revocation of their incorporation with the Spanish Crown decreed by Charles IV in 1802 (2).

The loss of Malta, marked an important stage in the conflict between the new ideas which were rising and the old ones which were supposed to be setting. It was followed by the assumption of the Grand Mastership by Paul I Emperor of Russia, — a non - Catholic. A protracted lieutenantcy subsequently gave time for considering, valuing and maturing in what direction should the Order organize to be in harmony with the changed circumstances of Europe.

Even so early as 1802, during the final negociations at Amiens, Joseph Bonaparte, on behalf of the First Consul,

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(1) Saint-Allais, L'Ordre de Malte, Paris 1839 p. 121.

(2) La S. Orden M. de S. Juan. Madrid 1899 p. 186.; F. de Salles, annales du l'Ordre de Malta. Vienne 1899.

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GRAND MASTER PINTO
in his sovereign robe

THE PRESENT GRAND MASTER
in ecclesiastical robe

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mooted the idea of creating a vast neutral lazaretto common to all nations served by the Knighis Hospitallers (1). All projects, however, for a re-constitution of a sovereignty of any sort successively fell through, including the one set up in 1850, to confer to the Knights, in substitution to the French, the custody of the Pontificial States, and the defence of the Holy Father.

The philantropic impulse, or better the carrying into practice of the spirit of Christian Charity enshrined in the motto «pro utilitate hominum» met with better success. The «Ospizio dei Cento Preti» opened at Ponte Sisto in Rome in 1834, the «Ospedale di S. Bernardo e Margherita» and the surgical wards at the «Incurabili» at Naples, «the Hospital of St. John and Elizabeth» established in London in 1867, the Hospital of Tantur between Jerusalem and Betlehem, that of Milan opened in 1886, the Dispensaire de St. Jean at Montmartre in Paris, are evidences of the recent activities of the Order in this direction (2).

The Order, now constituted on lines approved by the International Conference of Genéve (22nd. August 1864), sent its representative to the congress held in Berlin in 1869, and its ambulance work carried on by the Knights of the German Langue of Austria, Silesia, Westphalia and Bohemia has been recognized on different occasions.

The French Knights who had lost all their property and prerogatives during the revolution of 1789, formed an association in 1873 with the object of offering help to sick soldiers and to all such as contracted disease in wars; and even more to tend the wounded on the field of battle in the French Army. This corps is known as the « Association des Membres Francais de l'Ordre Souveraine de Malte» (3).

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(1) Lavigerie. L'Ordre de Malte, Paris, 1889 p. 85.

(2) G. K. Zwehl Die armen und kranten-furforge das Gouveranen Malteser-Ritterordens. Rom 1911.

(3) E. De Montagnac, Chevaliers des Malte, Paris 1894; Fr. De Parseval, L'Ordre de Malte, Paris 1912.

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The Langue of Italy, similarly revived, in 1874, by a Convention with the Italian Government (20th. February 1884), constituted the «Associazione dei Cavalieri Italiani del S. M. Ordine di Malta per il servizio sanitario di Guerra». The Italian Knights displayed uncommon energy in the catastrophe of the 28th. December 1908 with their Barracca-Ospedale and free kitchen set up at Messina, rivalling the analogous feats of the Knights Hospitallers in 1783. They also rendered useful service to the Italian soldiers in Lybia, in 1911 and 1912, with the vessel «Regina Margherita» converted into a Hospital ship for the transport of wounded (1).

Thus the Order to-day, as of yore, consists of different *Langues*. Its members wear their cross not as a simple mark of honour bestowed on them by the favour of this or that sovereign, but as the badge of an independent corporation the heir of a historical and sacred patrimony, still recognized as a sovereign order by various powers, its uniform and insigna honoured at all courts, sovereigns themselves not disdeigning to wear them.

In lieu of the galleys, galeons and other vessels of the Order of Malta, which in former times held the sea, the Order now possesses hospital units, ambulance trains, hospital tents of every pattern, fitted up-to-date and suitable for assistance both spiritual and temporal to the wounded in war.

It has very appropriately been observed that: «The cross of St. John, when not worn as a bauble, but as an outward sign of earnest Christian purpose, is as sure a symbol of true nobility as a patriot or philantropist can aspire to wear. The chivalry of the Order of St. John prides not itself on collars and ribands, jewels and stars—but in the Faith Hope and Charity carried into all the relations and habits

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(1) *See* the reports on the subject by Prince D. M. Chigi Albani Rome 1909 and 1912.

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of daily life. An aggregation of those who, in every sphere and department of social usefulness, will seek to give effect to the motto—«*Pro utilitate hominum*». An embodiment of earnest Christian men wrestling against all that dishonours the memory of the past — all that marks the opportunities of the present—all that damages the hopes of the coming time.

The cross is the symbol of faith in, adherence to, and union with our divine Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ».

Doc. I.

REGINALDUS miseratione divina tituli sanctae Mariae in Cosmedin Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae P.br Cardinalis POLUS Archiep.s Cantuariensis Sanctissimi D.ni n.ri pp. et Sedis Ap.lice ad serenissimum Philippum Regem et Serenissimam Mariam Reginam Angliae et Hyberniae et Universae Angliae et Hiberniae Regna de latere Legatus ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Cum inter graves ruinas et spolia locorum sacrorum quae tp.re perniciosissimi schismatis in hoc regno Angliae fiebant Prioratus sacre domus hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymitani in dicto Regno qui olim eiusdem Regum pietate preclare fundatus et dotatus fuit poenitus extinctus et dissolutus esset religiosis viris ab eo expulsis et ecclesia que in domo ejusdem Prioratus constructa erat diruta nec non commendis preceptoriis seu bajuliis coeterisque omnibus membris ad dictum Prioratum spectantibus cum omnibus juribus et pertinen. suis ad fiscum regium translatis Serenissimus Philippus rex et Serenissima Maria Regina Angliae qui ab illo inde tempore quo singulari Dei misericordia eorumque studio et opera dicto schismate extincto ipsum regnum ad unitatem ecclesiae et Apli.ce Sedis obedientiam reductum fuit ea quae calamitosissimo illo t.pe d ruta et collapsa fuerunt restaurari maxime cupiverunt et ad id in dies totis viribus incumbunt pro eo affectu et voluntate quam erga religionem fratrum sacre domus hospitalis predicti gerunt Prioratum et domum predictos restaurari summopere desiderantes ut id auctoritate

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aplica per nos efficeretur a Nobis debita cum instantia postularunt. Nos igitur considerantes quam pio iustoque desiderio moveantur Serenissimi rex et regina p.dicti quorum cum majores maximis rebus pro recuperatione Terrae Sanctae que olim dictae religionis nascentis origo et incrementi causa fuit bello gestis titulum regni Hierosolimitan. adepti fuerunt tum ipsi titulos defensoris fidei et catholici gerentes restaurationem religionis eorum fratrum in hoc suo regno procurant qui animas suas et bona obligarunt pro defensione dicte fidei contra inimicos crucis x.pi tamquam fideles athlete semper exponere et ad merita eorumdem fratrum attendentes qui ob egregie navatam operam in omnibus bellis contra infideles magnis ac preclaris privilegiis in omnibus regnis xpianis sunt donati ac speciali roman ecc.lie protectione a reliquis oibs immunes et exempti potestatibus terra marique semper servati aucte aplica nobis hac in n.ra Legatione concessa et qua fungimur in hac parte tenore p.ntium *Domum Prioratus Angliae* praedictum in pristinum statum regularem reponimus restituimus et reintegramus eamque in mansionem fratrum ordinis Sancti Johannis Hierosolymitan sub eodem titulo *Sancti Johannis de Clarkenwell* quem ante dictam dissolutionem habebat et in eadem domo Prioratum et Commendam seu preceptoriam de *Slebiche et Halston* ac *Baiulivatum de Aquila* nec non sequentes, viz:—unam de *Newlande* aliam de *Templebruer* et aliam de *Willoughton* ac aliam de *Jueley et Barowe* nec non aliam de *Sowthbaddestly* aliam de *Templecombe* et aliam de *Quenington* commendas seu preceptorias ejusdem Ordinis per Nos pro prima vice post ejusdem Prioratus restaurationem de personis idoneis per dictos Regem et Reginam nominandis providendos erigimus et instituimus utque eadem domus omnia et singula Jura ad domos dicti Ordinis pertinentia in perpetuum habeat decernimus et declaramus. Ac Prioratui, Baiulivatui et Commendis seu Preceptoriis predictis domum prefatam aliaque quecumque bona tam mobilia quam immobilia cum omnibus juribus et pertintiis suis, de quibus bonis per dictos Regem et Reginam ipsi Prioratus Baiulivatus et commendae

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seu Preceptorie dotabuntur si et postquam id factum fuerit in perpetuum absque alicujus prejudicio applicamus appropriamus unimus annectimus et incorporamus, et in eventum dotatationis h.moi eosdem Regem et Reginam ipsiusque Reginae haeredes et successores eorundem Prioratus Bajulivatus et commendarum seu preceptoriarum veros et indubitatos fundatores et dotatores existere et sic dici ac ab omnibus reputari et ita p.missis per quoscumque judices et auditores, sublata eis quavis al.r iudicandi et interpretandi facultate et aucte iudicare et definiri debere irritumque et inane si quid secus super his a quoq. scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari decernimus. Non obstant. aplicis nec non bone memorie Othonis et Othoboni olim in hoc Regno Sedis aplice legatorum ac in provincialibus et synodalibus conciliis editis specialibus vel generalibus constitutionibus et ordinibus statutis et consuetudinibus Ordinis et Angliae ante schisma Prioratus praedictorum etiam juramento confirmatione ap.lica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis privilegiis eisdem ordini et Prioratui concessis quibus eorum omnium et singulorum tenores presentibus pro sufficienter expressis habentes ipsis al.s in suo robore permansuris pro hac vice dumtaxat specialiter et expresse derogamus coeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Lambethi prope Londinum Wintonien. dioec. anno a nativitate Domini millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo Pridie nonas Maji Pontificatus Sanctissimi in x.po pr.is et D.ni n.ri Pauli divina providentia pape Quarti anno secondo.

Original Parchment in Ms. 889.

Doc. II.

(1 December 1557. Appointment of the new Commanders by Cardinal Pole).

Reginaldus miseratione divina t.ti Sanctae Marie in Cosmedin Sancte Roman. Eccl.iae P.br Cardinalis Polus Archiep.s Cantuarien. a sanctissimo d.no nro pp et S. Aplica sufficienti ad infrascripta au.cte munitus. Dilectis nobis in x.po fr.ibus ordinis Sanctis Johannis Hierosolimitan

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Thome *Tresham* Angliae Priori Richardo Shelley Turcupulerio commende seu preceptorie de Slebiche et Halston Commendatori seu preceptori, *Petro felizes de la Nuca* Baiulivatus de Aquila Baiulivus, *Cuthberto Laithey* de Newlande *Edwardo Browne* de Templebruer, *Thome Thornell* de Willoughton, *Henrico Gerard* de Jveley et Barowe, *Giorgio Aylmer* de Southbaddesley, *Jacobo Shelley* de Templecombe, et *Olivero Starkey* (1) de Quenington etiam commendarum seu preceptoriarum commendatoribus seu preceptoribus Prioratus hujusmodi salutem in d.no sempiternam. Cum nuper ad instantiam Serenissimi Philippi Regis et Serenissime Marie Regine Anglie Domum S.cti Johns de Clarkynwell prope Londinum Prioratus Anglie vigen. al.s in hoc Regno perniciosissimo schismate penitus extinc̄ti et dissoluti in pristinum statum regularem reposuerimus et reintegraverimus eamque in Mansionem fratrum ordinis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitani et in eadem Prioratum nec non commendam seu preceptoriam de Slebiche et Halston et Baiulivatum de Aquila ac sequentes videlicet unam de Newlande aliam de Templebruer et aliam de Willoughton ac aliam de Jueley et Barrowe nec non aliam de Southbaddesley aliam de Templecombe et aliam de Quenington Commendas seu preceptorias ejusdem ordinis per Nos pro prima vice post ejusdem Prioratus restaurationem de personis idoneis perdictos Regem et Reginam nominandis providendos eximus et instituerimus eisdem Prioratui Baiulivatui et Commendis seu preceptoriis domum prefatam aliaque quecumque bona tam mobilia quam immobilia cum omnibus juribus et pertinen. suis de quibus bonis per dictos Regem et Reginam ip.i prioratus Bajulivatus et commende seu paeceptorie forent dotande postquam id factum esset in perpetuum applicuerimus et appropriaverimus prout in aliis

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(1) Starkey's memory, is kept alive not only by the slab in St. John's Cript, but also by the celebration of his anniversary ordered in his will and paid out of the rent of his house in Valletta. The Balì Cagnolo, who owned the house after him increased Starkey's foundation to 12 masses to be said in St. John's Church.

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n.ris superinde confectis literis plenius continetur. Nos pro prima vice prefata Prioratui Bajulivatui et Commendis seu preceptoriis hujusmodi de idoneis personis prout in eisdem litteris constitueramus providere volentes auctoritate aplica nobis concessa et qua fungimur in hac parte tenore presentium Tibi Thoma Tresham predictique ob summam prudentiam multiplicem rerum experientiam aliasque preclaras animi dotes quibuste Altissimus insignivit dictum prioratum bene et laudabiliter gubernaturum in D.no confidimus ip.m prioratum sicut premittitur per Nos erectum ad quem per Regem et Reginam predictos nominatus eris nec non vobis predictis qui super religionis zelo vite et morum probitate et in rebus bene administrandis industria nobis fidedigno testimonio estis commendati et sub quorum sedula directione Baiulivatum et Commendas seu Preceptorias ipsas multiplicia speramus tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus incrementa suscepturas videlicet tibi Richarde Turcupulerie commendam seu preceptoriam de Slebeche et Halston, tibi Petre Baiulive Baiulivatum de Aquila tibi Cuthberte unam de Newlande Tibi Edwarde aliam de Templebruer tibi Thoma Thornell aliam de Willington, tibi Henrice aliam de Jveley et Barowe tibi Georgi aliam de Southbaddesley tibi Jacobe aliam de Templecombe et tibi Oliveri aliam de Quenington etiam commendas seu preceptorias prefatos ad quos respective per dictos Regem et Reginam similiter nominati existitis habendos tenendos possidendos regendos gubernandos et meliorandos in spiritualibus et temporalibus tam in capitibus quam in membris sub annuis solutionibus responsionum et quorumcumque comunis Thesauri ejusdem Ordinis iurium per ordinationes et statuta dicti Ordinis ipsis respective imponendorum ac alias in omnibus et per omnia prout Prioratus Angliae ejusque Baiulivatus et Commendae seu preceptorie per Magistrum et Conventum sacre domus hosplis Sancti Johannis Hierl.m ante dictum schisma conferri consueverant conferimus concedimus et donamus beneficiendo in ejusdem teque dicte Thoma Tresham Priorem in dicto Prioratn vosque reliquos superius nominatos Baiulivum et Commen-

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datores seu preceptores in dictis Baiulivatu Commendis seu preceptoriis respective cum omni capacitate quae per literas collationis Prioratus Angliae eiusque Baiulivatus et preceptoriarum aucte dictorum Magistri et conventus emanatas, Prioratus Bajulivatus et preceptoriarum hujusmodi Priori Baiulivo et Preceptoribus ante schisma predictum dari solebat salvis tamen et retentis Magistro et Conventui prefatis quibuscumque ordinationibus et preeminentiis in dictis literis collationis ante idem schisma exprimi consuetis constituimus et ordinamus. Inhibentes vobis Priori Baiulivo et Commendatoribus p.dictis sub penis stabilimentorum dicti ordinis contrafacientibus inflictis ne pretextu collation. Prioratus Baiulivatus et Commendarum sec: preceptoriarum h.moi aliquid vel aliqua de rebus, bon,s juribus predicti locis et quibuslibet jurisdictionibus dictorum Pricratus et Baiulivatus ac preceptoriarum venditis vel impignoretis permutatis distrahatis seu in emphyteusim perpetuam aud ad tempus concedatis vel alias quomodolibet extra religionem predictam transferatis sine licentia speciali dictorum Magistri et Capituli Generalis pro tempore existentium et si quod absit vos vel aliquem ex vobis contra inhibitionem nostram hujusmodi aliquid vel aliqua operari seu facere contingat illud et illa ex nunc prout ex tunc cassamus annullamus irritumque et inane nulliusque roboris vel efficacie existere decernimus. Non obstant. aplicas. nec non bone memorie Othonis et Othoboni olim hoc in Regno Sedis aplice Legatorum ac tam Provincialibus quam Synodalibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus statutis et consuetudinibus ordinis et ante schisma prioratus predictorum et juramento confirmatione aplica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis privilegiisque eisdem ordini et prioratui concessis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Datum Lambethi prope LondinumWintonien diec. Anno a Nativitate D.ni. Mill.mo quingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo Kl. Decembris Pontificatus Sanctissimi in x.po p.ris et D.ni n.ri Pauli divina providen, pape Quarti Anno Tertio.

M. Antonius Faita Secr.s

D. Pampsonius.

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Doc. III.

Instrumentum adeptae possessionis Prioratus angliae.

In Dei nomine amen. Cunctis presentis publici instrumenti seriem inspecturis visuris seu audituris appareat et sit notum quod anno domini mill.mo quingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo indictione prima pontificatu sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini n.ri domini Pauli divina providentia hujus nominis papae quarti, anno tertio mensis vero decembris die primo. In choro sive cancello domus sive hospitalis sancti Johannis Hierusalem in Anglia iuxta Clerkenwell ac prope Londinum, coram venerandis ac colendissimis viris dominis Henrico Cole legum doctore Decano ecclesia cath.lis divi Pauli London. ac Johanne Francisco Stella utriusque juris doctore ac Mauritio Clenok in legibus baccalario illustrissimi reverendissimique in ch.ro patris et d.ni domini Reginaldi miseratione divina tituli Sancte Marie in Cosmedin presbiteri cardinalis Poli Cantuarien. Archiepi totius Angliae Primatis a Sanctissimo d.no n.ro papa et sede aplica in omnia pta. sufficienti au.cte muniti, (atque h.moi domum et prioratum S. Johannis hierosolimitani vigente a.ls in hoc regno angliae perniciosissimo schismate penitus extinctum et dissolutum in pristinum statum regularem reponere et reintegrare eius sacra aucte legatina longe antea viz. ad biennium tunc proxime preterito aut veriter incipientis), commissariis specialiter deputatis constitutisque tunc ibidem personaliter nobiii et preclaro viro Thoma Tresham tunc eiusdem ordinis fratre et priore d.te domus al.s etiam proviso nec non ejusdem ordinis fratribus Rich.o Selley Turcupelerio et commendatario commende sive preceptorie de Slebiche et halliston ac Petro de Felizes Della Nuca de Aquila, Edwardo Browne de Templebruer Thoma Thornhill de Willongthon et Henrico Gerard de Jvelley et Barow respective baiulivatum seu commendarum commendatariis ac dicti ordinis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitan. fratribus et militibus tam pro se ipsis quam pro Cuthberto Lethey de Newland Georgio Almyre de Southbaddesley Jacobo Shelly de Templecombe et Olivero Starkey de Quenington

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respective commendarum sive preceptoriarum commendatariis ipsius ordinis etiam fratribus et militibus tunc absentibus) personaliter comparentibus, in mei Johannis Clerk notari publici ac prefati Rev.mi D.ni Car.lis et legati actorum scribe et registrarii testiumque inferius nominatorum p.ntiis (primo de mandato dictorum reverendorum du.orum commissariorum) literis prefati Rev.mi D.ni Card.lis et legati de et super provisione dicti prioratus S. Johannis hierl.mni et novem preceptoriarum baiulivatuum sive commendarum predictor. ac deinde incontinenti aliis eiusdem R.mi D.ni Card.lis et legati literis ad inducendum prefatum celeber.m D.m Thomam Tresham priorem hujusmodi in realem et corporalem possessionem ejusdem prioratus ac jurium suorum pubblice perlectis, dicti Rev.di D.ni Commissari omnes procedendi in ea parte iuxta tenore forma et effectum literarum predictarum in se humiliter et devote assumentes atque ad debitam executionem finemque et effectuum in ipsis literis specificatis etiam et effectualiter procedentes inter cetera (primo eidem D.no *Thome* priori quoddam *tradiderunt Sigillum* ad *Sigillandum sculptum* et ordinatum ad effectum cum eodem Sigillo scripta instrumenta et cartas dictum prioratum resque et negotia eiusdem tangen. sigillandi sigilloque h.moi in ea parte prout res exigit et expediens videretur utendi, atque iidem RR. D.ni Commissarii abinde viz. a choro et eccl.ia predicta revertentes ad aulam maiorem domus sive prioratus predicti una cum prefato d.no priore et ceteris commendatariis predictis ut prefertur) p.ntibus se contulerunt ibmque vigore et au.cte literarum p.dictarum eidem D.no Thome priori, primodicte domus s.ive hospitalis in iuriumque et p.tinen suorum et etiam incontinenti ipsis fratribus et commendatariis sic p.ntibus suarum commendarum sive preceptoriarum et eisdem viro et comendatoribus aliorum predict comendatariorum eorum etiam commendarum sive preceptoriarum predictarum realem actualem corporalem et effectualem respective tradiderunt possessionem atque tam dominum priorem in hom.i prioratu iuribusque et pertinen. suis quam etiam ceteros fratres et commendatarios predictos omnes et singulos in eorum hujusmodi commendis et pre-

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ceptoriis ac in corporalem et actualem possessionem eorundem sub modo et forma pred.tis realiter et effectualiter induxerunt.

Super quibus tamen R.di d.ni commissari predicti quam etiam prenominatus egregius et preclarus dominus Thomas Tresham prior ceterique fratres et commendatarii antedicti tunc (ut prefertur) p.ntes, me prefatum Johannem Clerk notarium publicum ad conficiendum instrumentum sive instrumenta unum vel plura publicum seu publica de et super premissis omnibus et singulis ac testes inferius nominatos inde testimonium perhibere instanter respective rogaverunt et requisierunt. Acta fuerunt haec oia et sing,la prout supra scribuntur et recitantur sub anno d.ni indictione pontificatuque ac mense die et loco supradictis p.ntibus tunc ibm D.nis Christoforo Webster et Johanne Cropfello presbiteris nec non Willelmo Webster artium mag.re tunc Londini moram trahens ac Dni.co Lampsone et Johanne Jordano tunc Lambethi Winton diocesis commoran. testibus ad premissa vocatis specialiter et rogatis.

Et ego Johannes Clerk Bathon. et Willen. dioecesis publicus sacra aucte. aplica. notarius ac inclite curie Cantuarien. procurat. general.

Doc. IV.

Reginaldus miseratione divina tituli Sanctae Mariae in Cosmedin Sanctae Roman. Eccl.ie P.br Cardinalis Polus Archieps. Cantuarien Santissimi n.ri pp. et sedis aplicae ad serenissimum Philippum Regem et Serenissimam Mariam Reginam Angliae et Hyberniae et universa. Angliae et Hyberniae regna de Latere Legatus ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Cum inter graves ruinas et spolia locorum sacrorum quae t.pe perniciosissimi schismatis in insula Hyberniae fiebant Prioratus sacrae domus Hospitalis sancti Johannis Hierosolymitan dicte insulae qui olim clarissimor. Angliae Regum eiusdem insule tum Dnor. pietate preclare fundatus et dotatus fuit penitus extinctus et dissolutus esset, ecclesia que in domo eiusdem Prioratus constructa erat diruta nec

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non commendis preceptoriis bajulivis seu cameris Priora-libus ceterisque omnibus membris ad dictum Prioratum spectantibus cum oibus iuribus et pertinen. suis ad fiscum regium translatis Serenissimus Philippus Rex et Serenissima Maria Regina Angliae et Hybernie qui ab illo inde tpe quo singulari Dei misericordia eorumque studio et opera dicto schismate extincto ip.m Hybernie Regnum ad unitatem ecclesie et dicte sedis aplice obedientiam reductum fuit eaque calamitosissimo illo t.pe diruta et collapsa fuerunt restaurari ut id aucte Aplica per Nos efficeretur a nobis debita cum instantia postularunt—Nos igitur considerantes quod pio iustoq. desiderio moveantur Serenissimi Rex et Regina praedicti quorum cum maiores maximis rebus pro recuperatione Terresancte que olim dicte religionis nascentis origo et incrementi causa fuit bello gestis titulum Regni Hierosolymitan. adepti fuerunt tam ipi titulos defensoris fidei et Catholici gerentes restaurationem religionis eorum fratrum in dicto suo Regno ac p.claris privilegis in quibus Regnis Christianis sunt donati ac speciali Romane Ecclesie protectione a reliquis oibus immunes et exempti potestatibus terra marique semper servati, aucte aplica. nobis hac in n.ra Legatione concessa et qua fungimur in hac parte tenore p.ntium Domum Prioratus Hybernie predictam in pristinum statum regularem reponimus restituimus et reintegramus eamq. in mansionem f.rum Ordinis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitan. sub eodem titulo Sancti Johannis de Kyllmainam quem ante dictam dissolutionem habebat et in eadem domo Prioratum eiusdem ordinis erigimus et instituimus utq. eadem domus oia et singula iura ad domos dicti ordinis pertinen. in perpetuum habeat decernimus et declaramus. Ac Prioratui predicto domum prefatam necnon o.es eas Commendas Preceptorias, Bajulias seu Cameras Priorales aliaq. quecumq. bona tam mobilia quam immobilia cum omnibus juribus et pertinen. suis de quibus per dictos Regem et Reginam idem Prioratus dotabitur si et postquam id factum fuerit in perpetuum absque alicujus preiudicio applicamus appropriamus unimus annectimus et incorporamus, et in eventum dotationis h.moi

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eosdem Regem et Reginam ipsiusq. Regine heredes et successores ejusdem Prioratus veros ed indubitatos fundatores et dotatores existere ac sic dicti et ab oibus reputari et ita in premissis per quoscumque judices et auditores sublata eis quavis al.r iudicandi et interpretandi facultate et aucte iudicari et definiri debere irritumq. et inane si quid secus super his a quocumque scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attemptari decernimus. Nec non eundem Prioratum sic ut p.mittitur per Nos erectum dilecto nobis in Christo Oswaldo Massingberd dicti ordinis fratri quem ob egregiam prudentiam, multiplicem rerum experientiam aliasque preclaras animi dotes quibus eum Altissimus insignivit dictum Prioratum bene et laudabiliter gubernaturum in dno confidimus quique ad eumdem Prioratum per dictos Regem et Reginam nominatus existit cum omnibus Commendis Preceptoriis Bajuliis seu Cameris Prioralibus eorumdemque iuribus et pertinen. de quibus idem Prioratus ut p fertur dotabitur, habendum tenen. possidendum regen. gubernandum et meliorandum in spiritualibus et tpalibus tam in capite quam in membris sub annua solutione responsionum et quorumqumque co.is thesauri eiusdem ordinis iurium per ordinationes et statuta dicti ordinis sibi imponendor. ac al.s in oibus et per oia prout Prioratus Hybernie ante dictum schisma conferri per Magistrum et Conventum sacre domus hospitalis predicti consueverat conferimus et donamus benefacendo in eodem ipmq. Osualdum Priorem in dicto Prioratu cum o.i capacitate que per lras collation. Prioratus Hybernie aucte dictor. Magistri et Conventus emanatas ante Schisma dari solebat salvis t.n et retentis Magro et conventui pfatis quibuscumque ordinationibus et pertinentiis in eisdem lris collation. ante schisma exprimi solitis constituimus et ordinamus. Inhibentes eidem Priori sub penis stabilimentor. dicti ordinis contrafacientibus inflictis ne pretextu collationis Prioratus h.moi aliquid vel aliqua de rebus bonis juribus predictis locis et quibuslibet jurisdictionibus dicti Prioratus vendat det impignoret permutet distrahat seu in emphyteosim perpetuam ad tps. concedat. vel alr q.molt extra religionem predictam transferat sine licentia speciali

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dicti Magri atq cap.li gnalis pro tpe. existentium et si quod absit eundem priorem contra inhibitionem nram h.moi aliquid vel aliqua operari seu facere contingat illud et illa ex nunc prout ex tunc cassamus annullamus irritumque et inane nulliusque roboris vel efficacie existere decernimus. Non obstantibus aplicis ac in Provincialibus et synodalibus Conciliis editis specialibus vel genlibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus statutis et consuetudinibus ordinis et Hybernie ante schisma Prioratus p.dictor etiam juramento confirmatione aplica vel quavis firmitate alia roboratis privilegiisq. eisdem ordini et prioratui concessis quibus eor. omnium et singulor. tenores pro sufficienter expressis habentes ipis als in suo robore permansuris pro hac vice dumtaxat specialiter et expresse derogamus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Dat. Lambethi prope Londinum Wintonien. dioeces Anno a nativitate dni millesimoquingentesimo quinguagesimo septimo. Pridie Non. Maii Pontificatus sanctissimi in Xpo pris et dni nri Pauli divina providentia Pape Quarti, anno secundo.—M. Antonius Faita sec.—D. Pamponius.

Doc. V.

Card Pole's Commission to put O. Massingberd in possession of the Irish Priory.—5. May 1557.—

Reginaldus Miseratione divina tituli sanctae Mariae in cosmedin Sancte Roman Ecclie Pbr cardinalis Polus Archiepus Cantuarien sanctissimi dni nri pp et Sedis aplice ad Serenissimum Philippum regem et serenissimam Mariam reginam Anglie et Hybernie ac universa Anglia et Hibernia Regna de latere Legatus venerabilibus fratribus nris Hugoni Guilelmo et Thome Dublinen Miden et Daren archiepo et Epis respective salt. in dno sempiternam. Cum hodie ad instantiam serenissimi Philippi Regis et serenissime Marie Regine Anglie et Hibernie aucte aplica munere Legationis qua fungimur nobis concessa Domum sancti Johannis de Kyllmainam prope Dublinum prioratus sacre domus hospitalis sancti Johannis Hierosolymitan in Regno Hibernie vigente als ibi prout etiam in hoc Anglie Regno perniciosis-

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simo schismate penitus extincti et dissoluti in pristinum statum regularem reposuerimus ac reintegraverimus in eademque prioratum ordinis sancti Johannis Hierosolimitan de novo erexerimus et instituerimus omnibus illis comendis preceptoriis baiuliis seu cameris prioralibus aliisque quibuscumque bonis tam mobilibus quam immobilibus cum oibus juribus et pertinentiis suis de quibus per dictos regem et Reginam idem prioratus dotandus foret postquam id factum esset ipsi prioratui in perpetuum applicatis et appropriatis necnon eundem Prioratum sic ut premittitur per nos erectum dilecto nobis in Xpo Oswaldo Massingberd dicti ordinis f.ri ad ipsum Prioratum per Regem et Reginam predictos nominato habendum tenendum possidendum regendum gubernandum et meliorandum contulerimus concesserimus donaverimus prout in aliis nris super reintegratione erectione et collatione h.moi confectis lris plenius continetur Circumspectioni vre et cuilibet vrm. eadem aucte per hec scripta mandamus qtus vos vel duo aut unus ex vobis per vos ipsos aut aliam vel alias personas ad hoc a vobis deputandos si et postq dicte nre lre vobis pntate fuerint et de premissa dotatione per lras regis et regine predictorum vobis sufficienter constiterit dictum Oswaldum priorem in actualem et realem possessionem dicti Prioratus inducatis facientes eidem Priori per eos qui ad id tenentur homagium et fidelitatis Juramentum prestari eidemque de Prioratus h·moi fructibns redditibus et proven. juribus et obventionibus universis integre responderi contradictores et rebelles per censuras ecclicas et alia juris remedia appellatione postposita compescendo—Contrariis non obstan. quibuscumque. Dat. Lambethi prope Londinum Wintonien dioc. Anno a Nativitate Dni Millesimoquingentesimo quinquagesimo septimo Pridie nonas Maji Pontus Smi in xpo pris et dni nri dni Pauli divina providentia papae quarti Anno secundo—M. Antonius faita sect.s—J-o Jordanus—

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